HISTORICAL STUDY OF SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN DARDISTAN AND LADAKH

by

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ATLANTIC PUBLISHERS & DISTRIBUTORS

Published by
Atlantic Publishers & Distributors
B-2, Vishal Enclave, Najafgarh Road,
New Delhi-110027

23499

Govt: College for Women
M. A. Road, Srinagar.
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Printed through
Composers
at Hardev Printers
A-49/1, Mayapuri
New Delhi-110064

Preface

Dardistan and Ladakh are areas of great strategical importance, for it is here that the borders of four countries, viz. U.S.S.R., China, India and Pakistan, meet one another. Inspite of their great importance, no comprehensive and authentic work on the social and cultural conditions of the people of this region has been done. The only available references are of some foreign travellers and British Political Agents.

The present work is ased on the original documents available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi, Central Secretariat Library, New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library, New Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir State Archives in Jammu and Srinagar, Ranbir Library, Jammu, Central Library of the Jammu University, National Library, Calcutta and various other libraries in the country.

It is hoped that the book would be found of immense interest and use by scholars and the enlightened laymen interested in the study of this region.

I take this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to the staff of all these Archives and Libraries without whose co-operation it would not have been possible to complete this work.

25th September, 1983
JAMMU (TAWI)

AMAR SINGH CHOHAN

Abbreviations

GOI	: Records of the Government of India available in the National Archives of India, New Delhi.
SGI	: Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.
RK	: Resident in Kashmir
PA	: Political Agent
G	: Gilgit
GA	: Gilgit Agency
BA	: British Agent
SSI	: Secretary of State for India
Sec	: Secret
Confdl	: Confidential
Fgn	: Foreign
Pol	: Political
Intl	: Interna
Extl	: External
Genl	: General
Front	: Frontier
Col	: Colonel
Capt	: Captain
Lt	: Lieutenant
J and K	: Jammu and Kashmir
JK	: Records of the Jammu and Kashmir Government available in the State Archives, Repository, Jammu.
AAR	: Annual Administration Report (General) of the Jammu and Kashmir Government.
Memo	: Memorandum

NAI	: National Archives of India, New Delhi
Secy	: Secretary
Mil	: Military
P.W.D.	: Public Works Department
C.M.	: Chief Minister
Col R.C.F. Schomberg	: Between the Oxus and the Indus, 1935, by Col R.C.F. Schomberg
Col Algernon Durand	: Making of a Frontier, 1899, by Col Algernon Durand
Major John Biddulph	: Tribes of the Hindukush, 1880, by Major John Biddulph
Knight, E.F.	: Where Three Empires Meet, 1893, by E.F. Knight
Hashmetullah Khan	: Tarikh Jammu, 1939, by Hashmetullah Khan
Assessment Report by Thakur Singh	: Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Lahore, 1917
Ganhars	: Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh, 1956, by Ganhar J.N. and Ganhar P.N.
Moorcroft and Trebeck	: Travels in Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan, Punjab, Ladakh and Kashmir, 1971, Vol. I and II by Moorcroft William and Trebeck George
Drew, Frederic	: The Northern Barrier of India, 1971, and The Jammu and Kashmir Territories. A Geographical Account, 1875 by Frederic Drew

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1

Political History and Administration

Dardistan : Political History

To the north-west of Kashmir state, running upto and on the right of the Indus, was the Gilgit valley.[1] It was a part and parcel of Dardistan. There was, actually, no region known as Dardistan to its inhabitants. Dardistan appears to be simply a convenient, but somewhat misleading, name employed by the British Geographers to express a large tract inhabited by different Aryan races of somewhat similar type.[2] It comprised, besides Gilgit, Astore, Boonji, Hunza, Nagar, Punial, Yasin, the independent republics of the Indus valley such as Gor, Darel and Tangir, and other countries south of the Hindukush[3] including Chitral.[4]

The ancient name of Gilgit under its Hindu *Ras* (kings) was Sargin. Later it was known as Gilyit, which the Sikhs and the Dogras corrupted into Gilgit.[5] Gilgit was situated at an elevation of 4,890 feet above sea level in 35°55' N and 74°23' East.[6] The climate of Gilgit was dry and wholesome,

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1. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, *Between the Oxus and the Indus*, hereafter quoted as Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, 1935, p. 15.

2. Major John Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindukush*, hereafter quoted as Major John Biddulph, 1880, pp. 8-9 ; Kinght, E.F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, hereafter quoted as Knight E.F., 1893, p. 258.

3. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, "Provincial Series Kashmir and Jammu", hereafter quoted as *Imperial Gazetteer*, 1909, p. 106 ; Knight, E.F., p. 258.

4. Davies, Collin, *Problem of the North-West Frontier 1890-1908*, 1932, p. 57.

5. *Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 106.

6. *Ibid.*

though the heat in summer, owing to the radiation from the enormous expanse of bare rock, was oppressive ; but the nights were cool and fresh. There was no rainfall to speak of, it being almost intercepted by the neighbouring mountains.[1] There was also practically no snowfall in Gilgit.[2]

The history of Gilgit, 'Sargin Gilgit' or the happy land of Gilgit, as it was known in its own Shina language, is lost in antiquity. The last ruler reputed to have been a Hindu was Sri Badat, whose rule extended over all the neighbourhood from Astore to Chitral : he was a real person, but has become legendary on account of his reputed cannibalism.[3] Hunza tradition has it that the daughter of the cannibal king married a Hunza prince, Shamsher, and it was this daughter who arranged her father's death. Only fire could harm the Ra. They dug a deep trench near his castle gate, concealing it with a cloth. They then raised an alarm at night, the Ra rushed out to repulse what he believed was an attack, fell into the trench, and was killed by the villagers throwing burning torches on him.[4]

But there is another version of Badat's death. According to it, the said Hunza prince launched an attack on Gilgit. Badat faced the enemy desperately, but was killed in the battlefield by an arrow from Shamsher. The death of Badat decided the fate of the battle in favour of Shamsher who occupied Gilgit.[5] Shamsher was a Mohammedan and established Muslim rule in Gilgit.[6]

Whatever be the circumstances of Sri Badat's death, all available sources on the subject agree that he was removed from the scene, the Hindu rule in Gilgit was terminated, and a Muslim one founded by Shamsher.*

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1. Major John Biddulph, p. 4.
2. Drew, Frederic, *The Northern Barrier of India*, hereafter quoted as Drew, Frederic, 1971, p. 409.
3. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 249.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Khan, Hashmetullah, *Tarikh Jammu*, hereafter quoted as Hashmetullah Khan, 1939, p. 768.
6. Major John Biddulph, p. 20.

*The exact date of this event is not known.

The dynasty that was founded by Shamsher was called Trakhane, from a celebrated Ra named Trakhan, who reigned about the commencement of the fourteenth century. The previous rulers, of whom Sri Badat was the last, were called Shahreis.[1]

Trakhan was succeeded as Ra of Gilgit by Azar, Jamsher, Khisrau, Fardos, Habikan, Gauritham, Muhammad Khan and Abas.[2]

Abas was the last of the Trakhane line ; with him ended the independence of Gilgit ; henceforward the valley was devastated by successive invasions of the neighbouring Rajas, who, each in turn, first acquired the country and then was defeated and killed by some other. In the twenty or thirty years ending with 1842 there were five dynastic revolutions in Gilgit, as follows[3] :—

(1) Suleiman Shah, ruler of Yasin, of the Bakhte caste or family, who was a refugee in Gilgit and had been given protection by its ruler, killed Abas about 1805.[4]

(2) Azad Khan, ruler of Punial, killed Suleiman Shah at Cher Kila and ruled in his stead in Gilgit.

(3) Tair Shah, ruler of Nagar, displaced and killed Azad Khan ; he himself died a natural death, and was succeeded by his son, Shah Sikandar.

(4) Gaur Rahman, ruler of Yasin, conquered Gilgit and killed Shah Sikandar.[5]

(5) Shah Sikandar's brother, Karim Khan, having escaped to Gor, from there sent an agent to the Sikh Governor of Kashmir imploring aid against the invader. The appeal was responded to.[6]

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1. Major John Biddulph, p. 20.
2. Drew, Frederic, p. 435.
3. *Ibid*, p. 436.
4. GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; *Memo on Rulers in Gilgit*, GOI, Fgn, Sec, April 1874, Nos. 38-43 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 436 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 251.
5. Drew, Frederic, p. 436
6. *Memo on Rulers in Gilgit*, GOI, Fgn, Sec, April 1874, Nos. 38-43 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 437.

> A couple of Sikh Regiments were sent under Nathu Shah, a Sayyid of Gujranwala, who was a capable commander[1] and held the rank of a Colonel. This was about the year 1842. Up to this time the Sikhs had not occupied the intermediate country of Astore, but they had made it tributary to them ; now on advancing they established a post there to make their communications sure.

Nathu Shah encountered Gaur Rahman (who seems to have relinquished Gilgit itself) at Basin, three miles higher up the valley, and defeated him ; Gaur Rahman retired into Punial.

Shortly afterwards, in the same year, one Mathra Das, having boasted to the Sikh Governor of Kashmir that he could easily settle the whole country of Gilgit, was sent to supersede Nathu Shah. Coming to Gilgit, Mathra Das went forward to the frontier by Sharot with part of the Sikh force, Nathu Shah retaining the rest. Gaur Rahman attacked Mathra Das and his force in the stony plain between Sharot and Gulpur and defeated them with great loss.[2] Mathra Das himself ran straight to Kashmir ; but Nathu, who was really a soldier, came up with his reserve and prepared to engage Gaur Rahman. But before they came to blows negotiations were entered into, and the strange result was that it was agreed that the Sikhs should hold Gilgit, the boundary being drawn where the two forces were confronting each other, that being, indeed, the usual boundary of Gilgit, and that Gaur Rahman should give his daughter in marriage to Nathu Shah. Not only was this done, but the Hunza Raja, and the Nagar Raja, Jaffer Khan, who were there as allies to Gaur Rahman did the same thing ; each giving a daughter to Nathu Shah, and peace was made all around.[3]

Of course, Nathu Shah did not give over Gilgit completely to Raja Karim Khan, who had beseeched the Sikh aid, but there was a kind of joint government established. Karim Khan had certain dues from the people allotted to him ; further imposts were made for the Sikh Government ; a small Sikh force was fixed at Gilgit under a Thanadar, and Nathu Shah himself returned to Kashmir on his way back to the Punjab avoiding Srinagar.[1]

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[1] Panikkar, K.M., *Gulab Singh, 1792-1858, Founder of Kashmir*, 1930, p. 141 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 437.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 438.

[3] GOI, Fgn, Sec. July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; Drew, Frederic, p. 438.

The Succession of the Dogras, 1847

On Kashmir, and with it Gilgit, being ceded to Gulab Singh in 1846, Nathu Shah left the Sikhs and transferred his services to the new ruler, and went to take possession of Gilgit for him. In this there was no difficulty. The Dogra troops relieved the Sikh posts at Astore and Gilgit ; most of the Sikh soldiers took service under the new rulers : they were few in number, those at Gilgit being perhaps not more than one hundred.[2]

In 1847 Nathu Shah, with the permission of Gulab Singh, allowed lieutenants Agnew and Young of the Bengal Engineers to visit Gilgit. These officers wrote to the Hunza Raja, Ghazan Khan, asking his leave to enter his territory, but he refused it. He also accused Nathu Shah of having allowed Europeans to come to the frontier, and on this ground attacked Gilgit plundering five villages.[3] Nathu Shah led a force up the valley of the Hunza River to avenge this attack, but his force was destroyed and he himself was killed, as also was Karim Khan, the titular Raja of Gilgit, who had accompanied him.[4]

Gaur Rahman, too, who at this time governed Punial and Yasin, joined in against the Dogras ; the people of Darel joined also ; Gilgit fort fell into the hands of these allies.[5]

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[1] *Memo on Rulers in Gilgit*, GOI, Fgn, Sec, April 1874, Nos. 38-43 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 438 ; Panikkar, K.M., *Gulab Singh 1792-1858, Founder of Kashmir*, 1930, p. 142.

[2] Hashmetullah Khan, p. 62 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 439 ; GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B.

[3] Hashmetullah Khan, p. 783 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 440.

[4] Drew, Frederic, p. 440.

[5] Temple, Lt. H.M., *Precis of Information Regarding Lower and Upper Chitral, Hunza and Nagar, Part I, 1877*, pp. 48-49 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 441.

To put things right Maharaja Gulab Singh sent two columns of troops, one from Hasora and other from Baltistan ; there was some fighting, and then peace was made on the basis of the former state of things.[1]

In 1851 the frontier rose again in insurrection. This rebellion was raised by the people of Chilas. They were in the habit of tyrannising over Kashmir, Kishengunga, Astore and Gilgit valleys. Permission was granted by the British Government, in 1851, to Maharaja Gulab Singh to exact reprisals for a raid on Astore by the Chilasis in this year. A powerful force under six officers was despatched in the spring of 1852.[2]

The fort of Chilas was placed in a naturally impregnable position and the Kashmir forces found it to be an uphill task to besiege it. Provisions on the frontier were not available, and the army subsisted on those taken from Kashmir. These, however, were soon exhausted and over 1,500 men joined the great majority in the course of a few weeks owing to starvation.[3]

But the Dogra soldier displayed his usual bravery and endurance under these tribulations, and, before long, effected the conquest of the Chilas fort by cutting off its water supply and thereby making the tribesmen succumb. Their leaders were brought to Srinagar, where they accepted the Maharaja's authority and left their sons as hostages.[4] They also agreed to pay a yearly tribute of a hundred goats and five tolas of gold, and engaged that the fort of Chilas should not be rebuilt.[5]

Hostilities were not, however, confined to Chilas. In Gilgit also trouble soon broke and which caused the Maharaja

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1. GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; Hashmetullah Khan, p. 785.

2. *Gulabnama of Diwan Kirpa Ram, 1876,* (Tr. by Sukhdev Singh Charak in 1977, hereafter quoted as *Gulabnama*), p. 386 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 15-16 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 459 ; Hashmetullah Khan, p. 784.

3. *Gulabnama*, p. 387.

4. Hashmetullah Khan, pp. 784-85 ; Panikkar, K.M., *Gulab Singh, 1792-1858, Founder of Kashmir*, 1930, pp. 144-45.

5. Major John Biddulph, p. 16.

to lose all of Dardistan that he possessed on the right bank of the Indus.[1]

In 1852 one Sant Singh was Thanadar, or Commander, at Gilgit Fort ; there was another fort at Naupura, a couple of miles off, held by a Gurkha Regiment of the Maharaja's under Ram Din, commandant, and one Bhup Singh Bhadwal was in command of the reserves at Boonji and Astore.[2]

It is not known what it was that made Gaur Rahman to perceive and urged him to take advantage of his opportunity. He suddenly brought a force that surrounded and separated the two forts.

Bhup Singh, hearing of this, advanced to their relief with about 1200 men. He crossed the Nila Dhar, a ridge which separated the valley of Sai from that of Gilgit, and reached the bank of the Gilgit River, where there was a narrow space between the water and the alluvial cliff ; the path here rose from the level of the stream to an alluvial platform two or three hundred feet above it by a narrow gully. But here he found the road stopped by the enemy ; the Dards had barricaded every possible channel of access, they had built sangars, or stone breast works, across every gully that led to the higher ground.[3] And the Dards had also managed, by passing along difficult mountain paths, to get to the rear of the Dogras, so that their retreat by the way they had come was made equally difficult with their advance. The river by their side was swift and deep, there was no hope to be gained from that ; at the same time the Hunza people assembled with adverse intent on the bank opposite, within gunshot. In short, Bhup Singh was caught in a trap. Thus encircled he was helpless unless by main he could push his way up one of the defiles.[4]

The Dards then began to play the game of double-dealing in which they were adepts. They promised Bhup Singh provisions, because of these he was quite short, and a safe passage back if he would agree to retire. This he consented to do, and he waited for days in hopes of the food coming ; the Dards kept him in expectation, and fed his hopes. Thus for seven days the Dogras were kept without food, and only then, when they were so reduced in strength as to be helpless, did the enemy begin their attack. The Hunza people fired from the left bank, while Gaur Rahman's army sent from the summits of the alluvial cliffs close above a storm of bullets and stones that soon overwhelmed the force.[1] Near a thousand died on the spot, a hundred or two were taken prisoners and sold into slavery.[2]

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[1] GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; Hashmetullah Khan, p. 785.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 441.

[3] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 253 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 441 ; Hashmetullah Khan, p. 786.

[4] Drew, Frederic, p. 441.

While the Maharaja's reserve was thus being disposed of, a somewhat similar tragedy was being done upon his troops at Gilgit and Naupura, who, as we have seen, had been separately surrounded. Naupura was on an alluvial or fan plateau, 250 feet above the Gilgit plain. A detachment of two or three hundred men sallied from Gilgit Fort in order to succour the garrison of Naupura ; they divided themselves into two parties, those who went by an upper path were cut to pieces, while the others who went by the lower one succeeded in throwing themselves into the fort. But here, too, rations failed, and, besides, the supply of water was cut off by the enemy. Then began negotiations as before, and the force was allowed to retire ; they were allowed to walk down, when, as it is said, one of the Dards made a grab at a gold ear-ring which the commandant wore ; this he resisted, and the affray was the signal for a general assault on the Dogra troops. These collected themselves into a walled enclosure—the place abounded with such—and defended themselves gallantly for a whole day, but they were at last overpowered ; about 300 were killed and a few were made slaves.[3]

Then came the turn of Gilgit Fort. It is not known exactly how it was managed (for where the destruction was so thorough it was not easy to get the evidence of eye witnesses), but it is believed that in somewhat the same way all the

1. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 253-254 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 442.
2. Drew, Frederic, p. 442.
3. Drew, Frederic, pp. 442-443.

garrison came into the hands of the Dards and were killed. The Gurkha soldiers in the Maharaja's army, and in the British, used to take their families with them on service ; their wives were in Gilgit Fort ; these were all killed excepting one, who, throwing herself into the river that flowed by the fort, managed to cross it and to reach the Indus, and to cross that also to Boonji. It is said that she swam the Indus holding on to a cow's tail. At all events she escaped to tell the story, and she was given pension by the Maharaja for rendering this service to the state.[1]

Thus, as said before, the Dogras were expelled from all that part of Dardistan which was on the right bank of the Indus. Gaur Rahman again ruled in Gilgit.[2]

From the time when these events took place, from the year 1852, onwards for eight years, the Maharaja's boundary, below Haramosh, remained at the Indus. A considerable force was kept at Boonji. A few small raids took place* on these troops which called for no important move on the Maharaja's side. Once by way of reprisals an expedition was made into the Sai valley, but none of the country on that side of the Indus was for a long time occupied. It appears to have been Gulab Singh's fixed policy to advance no further.[3]

Resubjugation of Gilgit by the Dogras, 1860

Maharaja Gulab Singh died in 1857, and was succeeded, in the same year, by his son Ranbir Singh. The latter harboured the intention of recovering Gilgit,[4] and of rehabilitating the reputation of the Dogras on the frontier.[5] To this end, he, in 1860, sent a force under the command of Colonel Devi Singh Narainia. This force crossed the Indus and advanced on Gaur Rahman's strong fort at Gilgit.[6]

[1] Hashmetullah Khan, p. 738.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 443.

*The exact dates when these events occurred are not mentioned in the sources.

[3] Hashmetullah Khan, p. 10.

[4] *Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 28 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 444.

[5] *Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 28.

[6] Hashmetullah Khan, p. 789 ; *Imperial Gazetteer*, p. 28.

It so chanced that just before Devi Singh's force reached Gilgit, Gaur Rahman himself went the way of all the earth. This tidings undoubtedly disheartened his people who did not put up much resistance to the assault. The death of their wazir from a cannon-ball bulldozed them into yielding, and Gilgit again belonged to Jammu, and since then the hold of the Dogras on the fort itself was not lost[1] until after 1947.

Reckoning, doubtless, on a general disorganization of the Yasin power after Gaur Rahman's death, the Dogra leader determined to advance further, to follow up the victory. He was actually able to capture both Yasin and Punial. But to hold these territories was no part of his plan, so after a few days the force retired to Gilgit.[2]

The Dogras had, however, placed on the throne at Yasin one Azmat Shah, a son of Suleiman Shah, the old ruler of Yasin. This Azmat Shah being, as near as can be made out, first cousin to Gaur Rahman. The idea was that Azmat Shah at Yasin would remain on peaceable and friendly terms with the Maharaja's authorities at Gilgit. But this was not divine dispensation, for no sooner had the Dogra force turned their backs than the Yasinis expelled their nominee, and poor Azmat Shah had to flee for his life.[3]

The other political arrangement relative to Punial, however, proved more abiding. This territory was given to Esau Bahadur, said to be the representative of its old rulers. He had been living in Kashmir on a grant of land for quite sometime. It is said that he had incurred the enmity of Gaur Rahman about the time of the Sikh invasion of Gilgit and was obliged to seek asylum in Kashmir.[4] When the re-conquest of Gilgit was planned, he accompanied the Maharaja's troops, and as the advance was continued into the country of his hereditary Chiefship he was placed in power. After that time he held Punial as a vassal of the Maharaja.[5]

1. Drew, Frederic, p. 444.
2. Drew, Frederic, p. 444.
3. Hashmetullah Khan, p. 791.
4. GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; Drew, Frederic, p. 445.
5. Drew, Frederic, p. 445.

Later Hostilities, 1863 to 1869

At the conclusion of the war, and on the withdrawal of the Dogra force from Yasin to Gilgit in 1860, the state of things was like this. One of Gaur Rahman's sons, Mulk Iman by name, under whose leadership the Yasinis had expelled Azmat Shah, was now the ruler of Yasin. Esau Bahadur held Punial in dependence on the Maharaja. The Maharaja's own officers and troops occupied that part of the country which of old belonged to the Rajaship of Gilgit.[1]

After the war, though for a time peace prevailed, there was a feeling of stifled enmity between Yasin and Gilgit, which was sure ere long to break into open hostilities. Just at this time the Yasinis did wrong to the Dogras by looting and imprisoning their messengers in Yasin. These messengers had been sent by the Maharaja to Badakhshan to buy horses in that country. They were despoiled and incarcerated by the Yasin Chief when they were on their way back to Kashmir. This goaded the Kashmir ruler into sending a punitive expedition to Yasin.[2]

Accordingly, in the spring of 1863 a force of 5,000 to 6,000 men under the command of four senior Dogra officers and Esau Bahadur was secretly collected in Gilgit. These troops invaded Yasin the Chief of which place decamped to Chitral. The Dogras fell upon the leaderless Yasini villagers with utmost fury and killed from 1,200 to 1,400 of them. Yasin was then burned down and cattle from the country carried off together with some 2,000 prisoners.[3] This grisly punishment inflicted by the Maharaja's forces upon the Yasinis made the latter submissive. The Dogras, indeed, at once retired to their old boundary, but for a few years Yasin was in some sense tributary ; that is, the Chief sent his agents to Jammu with presents, and he was anxious to keep on good terms with the Maharaja.[4]

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[1] Hashmetullah Khan, p. 792.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 446 ; Temple, Lt, H.M., *Precis of Information Regarding Lower and Upper Chitral, Hunza and Nagar, Part I*, 1877, p. 51.

[3] George Hayward to T.H. Thornton, Esq, No. 10, March 7, 1870, GOI, Fgn. S.I, January 1870, Nos. 191-200.

[4] Drew, Frederic, p. 446.

In 1866 the Gilgit authorities, with the permission of the Maharaja, arranged an attack on Hunza, the Nagar people promising aid so far as to allow a passage through their country.[1] The Dogra force advanced on the Nagar side of the river, the left bank, and reached a place opposite to and within gunshot of one of the Hunza forts. But the way across the river did not seem easy. The river flowed between cliffs of some height—probably alluvium or fan cliffs ; it was said that no practicable road could be found down and up them.[2]

After a few days it seemed that the Nagar people were beginning to fall away from the alliance. The Dogras began to be suspicious of them, and this distrust very likely brought about its own justification. At last, one evening, a report spread among the Dogras that the Nagaris were upon them ; a panic struck them, and they retreated, or more accurately fled, though no enemy was attacking them. In this disgraceful way they returned to Gilgit.[3]

Things did not stop here. This demonstration of weakness on the part of the Dogras caused all their old enemies to combine to try and bundle them out of the frontier. A most formidable confederation of all the tribes around was encompassed. Wazir Rahmat, the Yasin Wazir, was, it is said, the soul of this combination.[4]

In a month or two a considerable army of the tribes invaded Gilgit. The Yasin ruler, who had fled to Chitral, made a common cause with the Mehtar (ruler) of that country. From Chitral came an expedition under its ruler, Aman-ul-Mulk, himself.[5] These with the Yasinis and the Darelis surrounded Gilgit Fort, while the Hunza and the Nagar people, now in conjunction, occupied the left bank of the Gilgit river, opposite the fort. The Raja of Chitral was the most important of all the leaders.[6]

[1] GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; Drew, Frederic, p. 447.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 447.

[3] Major John Biddulph, p. 29 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 447.

[4] Hashmetullah Khan, pp. 794-795.

[5] Drew, Frederic, 447.

[6] GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; Hashmetullah Khan, p. 795.

This invading force, on its way to Gilgit or soon afterwards, reduced most of the forts of Punial ; that is to say, Gakuch, Bubar, etc ; through treachery or by force. But the fort of Cher held out. Raja Isau Bahadur himself was within it with 100 of the Maharaja's sepoys, supported by them he even went so far as to expel most of his own people, who, it is said, went and joined—outwardly, for their own safety, and not heartily—the enemy. These, under Mir Wali, brother to the then Raja of Yasin, besieged Cher with vigour, but they could make little impression upon it.[1]

This invading force approached and invested the Gilgit fort, on the fate of which hung the fate of the whole valley. The besiegers expected that it soon would fall, for they had heard that it had provisions to last for a week or two only. They closely blockaded it, and were able to repel all the sallies from within it. But, in truth, the fort was better provisioned than they thought.

Meanwhile news of this state of affairs had reached Kashmir, and the Maharaja had sent off re-inforcements with great despatch. When this force effected a landing on the right bank of the Indus and the tidings of its approach reached Aman-ul-Mulk, he and his troops and allies bolted and got safely back to their own countries.[2]

The Dogra force now assembled in Gilgit was too large for that country barren as it was. There were, it is said, 3000 soldiers, and they were accompanied by a great number of coolies to carry supplies. The leaders decided to launch an aggression upon Darel, because the people of this place had joined the confederates against the Kashmir authority on the frontier.[3] They, therefore, merited punishment.

The expedition set off in September, 1866. The Darel valley led south-ward to the Indus. There were seven village-forts in it ; the Dogras reached four of them. All the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, there was not even a woman or a child to be seen ; even the cattle had all been driven off. The Dogras stayed a week. Some of the Chief men of Darel came in, made the submission and agreed to pay tribute.[1] A few of them, who had been captured, were hanged,[2] and then the troops returned. The Dogras certainly had shown the Darelis that their country was not inaccessible, and doubtless they left their mark on it. After this, a great part of the force returned to Kashmir, and the usual garrison was left behind at Gilgit.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 448.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 449.

The State of Nagar became tributary to Kashmir in 1868. The quantum of the annual payment was twenty-one tolas of gold and two baskets of apricots.[3] In return for this small tribute Nagar received a subsidy of a larger value.[4]

In 1869 the Hunza State also acknowledged the suzerainty of the Kashmir State consenting to pay a yearly tribute of two horses, two hounds, and twenty ounces of gold-dust, and to receive in return an annual subsidy.[5]

From the strategical point of view, Gilgit was of as much importance to the British Government of India as Peshawar, for it was the gate to India from Central Asia and it was here that the three empires of China, Russia and Great Britain met.[6] Besides, it covered all the passes over the Hindukush from the eastern most one, the Shimshal, to those at the head of the Yasin River, in the West. All these passes descended to the valleys of the Gilgit River and its tributaries. But the possession of the Gilgit valley would offer more than this : it afforded the British a direct communication through Kashmir territory to the protected State of Chitral, which be otherwise removed from their influence by the interposition of

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1. GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1877, Nos. 34-60 B ; Major John Biddulph, p. 14 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 449.
2. Major John Biddulph, p. 14.
3. Hashmetullah Khan, pp. 797-98 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 450 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 25.
4. Drew, Frederic, p. 457.
5. Major John Biddulph, p. 29 ; Kak, B.L., *The Fall of Gilgit*, 1977, p. 8.
6. GOI, Fgn, and Pol, No. 114-X (Sec) of 1935, Nos. 1-35 ; Jalali, J.L.K, *Handbook for Visitors to Kashmir*, p. 62.

countries at that time closed to them.[1] Again, from Gilgit mountain roads radiated into all the surronding valleys.[2] It is easy, therefore, to see how favourable was its position for the establishment of a confederacy of small States.

This great strategical importance of Gilgit induced the British to establish their Agency here in the year 1877. In 1881 the Agency was withdrawn but was re-established in 1889 and continued in existence upto 1947. As a result of the presence of the British Agency at Gilgit, practically the whole of Dardistan came under the influence and control of the Government of India*, because the limits of the Agency corresponded roughly with this region.

Ladakh

Ladakh was bounded on the north-east by the mountains which divided it from the Chinese province of Khoten, and on the east and south-east by Rudok and Chanthang, dependencies of Lhasa : On the south by the British province of Bisahar, and by the hill states of Kulu and Chamba. The latter also extended along the south west till it was met by Kashmir, which with part of Balti, Kartakshe and Khafalun, completed the boundary on the west and north-west. The north was bounded by the Karakoram mountains and Yarkand.[3]

The most important portion of Ladakh proper was central Ladakh, through which ran the River Indus. The climate of Ladakh was dry and healthy. During the major portion of the year the weather was intensely cold. The rainfall was very scanty. Timber and fuel were the most difficult things to obtain. The population lived by agriculture. The general aspect of the whole country was thus described by Cunningham in his book Ladakh, published in 1854 :

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1. Knight, E.F., p. 270.
2. Major John Biddulph, p. 21 ; Hashmetullah Khan, p. 766.

*For details of the Gilgit Agency, see "The Gilgit Agency, 1877-1935" by the same author.

3. Moorcroft William and Trebeck George, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab ; in Ladakh and Kashmir ; in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara*, Vol. I, 1971, p. 258 (Moorcroft visited Ladakh in 1820).

"The general aspect of Ladakh is extreme barrenness. Seen from above it would appear a mere succession of yellow plains and barren mountains capped with snow, and the lakes of Pangkong and Tshomoreri would seem like bright cases in a vast desert of rock and sand. No trace of man or of human habitations would meet the eye, and even the large spots of cultivated land would be but small specks on the mighty waste of a deserted world. But a close view would show many fertile tracts covered with luxuriant crops and picturesque monasteries, from which the chant of human voices ascends high in daily prayer and praise".[1]

Ladakh formed originally a part of Tibet, but in the fifteenth century if became independent under a line of Tibetan kings who accepted the Grand Lama as their suzerain.[2] This dynasty continued to rule till the nineteenth century. The last king of this Ladakhi dynasty was Tsepal Namgyal, who inherited the throne from his brother. He was an accentric man, and many stories are told of his peculiarities. He never slept at night nor were any of his servants allowed to do so.[3]

In 1834 Gulab Singh decided to attack Ladakh. He made a confidential enquiry of the English East India Company, and on being informed that the British Government had no objection to his expedition, a well-equipped force was prepared under General Zorawar Singh. This force marched through Kishtwar and entered the Ladakhi province of Purik. This province was held by the tri-sultans, whose capital was at Kartse. There was no resistance at first as the Ladakhis were taken by surprise, but about 5,000 men were mustered in a state of flurry and on August 16, 1834, an attempt was made to stop the Dogra advance at Sanku. The Ladakhis were heavily defeated. Kartse was captured by the Dogras and Zorawar pursued a systematic policy of leaving small garrisons in the forts with an adequate supply of arms.

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1. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, p. 16 ; Panikkar, K.M., *Gulab Singh* 1930, p. 74.
2. *Census of India*, Vol. XXIV, J & K State, Part I, pp. 95-96.
3. Panikkar, K.M., *Gulab Singh*, 1930, p. 76.

From Kartse the invading army marched down the Suru River. On the plains of Pashkyum the Ladakhis were again defeated. As winter was approaching, Zorawar, anxious to return to a warmer place, entered into negotiations. But the Ladakhis, relying upon the intense cold of the winter to bundle Zorawar's men out of Ladakh, refused to negotiate and went in for guerilla warfare. Furthermore, they also addressed themselves to collect an army with which to fight the Dogras. By the time their preparations were over winter had lost its rigours. The Ladakhi army marched to Langkartse, where the Dogras had encamped for the winter. But the army that had been mustered with so much difficulty did not fight. The Dogras watched for a few days the camps of their foes, and, finding that they were not exerting themselves, fell upon them. The Ladakhi did not make any endeavour to defend their positions. They merely bolted, and in their flight the snow of their country inflicted untold misery. After this Zorawar had but little fighting to do. The Ladakhi army retreated to Leh. Tsepal was demoralised and agreed to negotiate ; and himself came to Bazgo, where a meeting took place between Zorawar and the king. After the terms were settled Zorawar went up to Leh . and installed Tsepal as a ruler holding power from Gulab Singh. He was asked to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 20,000 and a war indemnity of Rs. 50,000. After making peace Zorawar returned to Lamayura.

The Sikhs, who were jealous of Gulab Singh's growing power, looked upon Zorawar's subdual of Ladakh with envy. At the instigation of Mihan Singh, the governor of Kashmir, the Ladakhis raised a standard of rebellion, and the Dogra garrison in Suru was done to death. The cold season had set in and snow had closed the passes. But Zorawar was not the man to wait. By forced marches he arrived at Leh, to the arrant surprise of his adversaries. The Gyalpo expressed remorse at what had taken place, but Zorawar inflicted condign punishment on the rebels. Placing sufficient garrisons in the forts and leaving a lieutenant, Dewan Daya Ram, with the king, Zorawar returned to Jammu for the winter. The following year Zorawar returned to Leh to find Tsepal at the head of an insurrection engineered by the Sikhs in Kashmir. Tsepal was dethroned and was given only the village of Stog, supposed to be worth Rs. 1,212 a year. In his place Ngroub Stanzan, a relation of the old king, was made Governor of Ladakh. This time, however, Zorawar did not want to take anything on trust. He fortified Leh and placed a garrison there. Next year Zorawar again appeared on the scene, deposed Ngroub Stanzan, who was accused of rebellion, and reinstated Tsepal at an increased tribute.

The country, though conquered, had not yet settled down. By the end of 1840 the Ladakhis found a leader in a man called Sukamir. Before the rebellion could mature Zorawar again appeared with an adequate force. The saucy Sukamir was nabbed and publicly executed. This made the Ladakhis funky, who since peacefully accepted the Dogra ascendancy over their country.[1]

After its occupation by the Dogras, Ladakh began to be ruled from Jammu through a darbar officer appointed by the Maharaja. This officer carried the title of Wazir-i-Wazarat. The first wazir of Ladakh was Mugna, brother-in-law of Zorawar Singh, who was succeeded by Basti Ram.[2]

ADMINISTRATION

Dardistan

For administrative purposes the country was divided into districts, for each of which a wazir was responsible. Wazirs were obliged to be of a good family, and were even during the Dogra regime chosen only from the three principal castes, *viz* : Rono, Shin, and Yeshkun. The office was not hereditary, but was held for life. On the appointment of a wazir, three pieces of land were taken from among the peasant's holdings, and assigned to him in addition to his own family possessions. Four families were appointed to manage the whole cultivation of his land and furnish him with one household servant, in return for which they were exempt from all dues of personal service to the Ra. The wazir was responsible for the peace and welfare of his district, and for leading the men of it in war. When the population was called to arms, the wazir had the right of releasing one man in each fortified village from military service, in return for which he received from the man so released two "baghaloos*" of gold-dust on the return of the army. If, however, the expedition returned without having fought, only half the fee was paid. On the occasion of a marriage taking place, a cake of leavened bread was sent to the wazir of the district by the father of the bride.

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[1] *Gulabnama*, pp. 206-209 ; Panikkar, K.M., *Gulab Singh*, 1930, pp. 76-79 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, (Reprint 1970) pp. 332-346 ; British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246 of December 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front A, June 1887, Nos. 97-108 ; *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, Jammu, 1908.

[2] British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246 of Dec. 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front A, June 1887 Nos. 97-108.

In each village was a "Tarangfah" appointed by the Ra, who acted under the orders of the wazir within his own limits. In time of war he had the right to release three men of his village from military service, from whom he received the same dues as the wazir. He also received a fee of three shillings on each marriage taking place in his village, and had three families assigned to him for service, who were exempt from all other taxes or services. He further received sixteen yards of cotton cloth yearly from the village weavers, and was especially charged with the management and preservation of the irrigation arrangements.

The dues paid to all officials were called "Luspik".

Next in rank to the Tarangfah, but with totally different duties, came the Yerfah, who had charge of all the private lands of the Ra, to whom he filled the office of steward. He was responsible for everything connected with the cultivation of the Ra's lands in each district, and received six Kharwars of grain out of each crop. As luspik, four families in Gilgit, and one in each outlying village in which the Ra owned land, was assigned to him, whose duty it was to furnish him each with a yoke of oxen for ploughing his own lands. This service he could commute if he pleased for one baghaloo of gold for each yoke of oxen. He was also responsible for the collection of the land tax, but no authority could be exercised over him by the Wazirs or Tarangfahs.

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*An amount of the value of eight shillings was called Baghaloo.

Next to the Tarangfah among the district officials was the Charboo, who acted as an assistant to the Tarangfah in each village. His luspik consisted in exemption from all taxes, and two of the ruler's fees on marriage a year ; it being part of his duty to collect the "Garetoloo" tax. He also received a certain amount of the meat tribute. To help him in his work he was allowed four men called "Zehtoo", who only served for a year as peons to the Charboo, and were paid by an impost of 12 lbs. of grain from each house, which was divided among them.

Justice was administered by the wazirs in their own districts. Cases which principally arose out of disputes about land were generally settled by a fine of cattle, sheep, or gold-dust. Any case involving a larger fine than one baghaloo of gold-dust was heard by the Ra. Serious crimes, such as murder or treason, were punished by the destruction of the whole family of the offender. His house was raised to the ground, and his relations reduced to slavery, and sold or distributed according to the will of the Ra.[1]

Republics

The system of administration in all the independent republics of Dardistan was the same. Each village, according to its size had a certain number of Jushteros, or elders, who were appointed according to the general estimation in which they were held for bravery, liberality, and eloquence. They received no benefit from their office, and were more the servants than the leaders of those they represented. Each village managed its own affairs irrespective of its neighbours, and it was in the superintendence of these details that the jushteros were mostly occupied. All matters affecting the village were discussed in public. A meeting for this purpose was called Sigas or Jirga. At the Jirga all who pleased joined

[1] Major John Biddulph, pp. 43-44.

in the discussion, the Jushteros apparently encouraging individuals to give their advice, and when the general opinion had thus been elicited, the Jushteros announced the decision they had formed. At a Jirga of several villages, a single Jushtero was appointed by each village at a meeting previously held. At the close of the general discussion, which was open as before, a loud whistle was given, after which none but the representative Jushteros were allowed to speak. If war with a neighbouring valley was determined on, the Jushteros settled the way in which those they represented should take part in it, but beyond their personal influence they had little voice in determining the general policy to be pursued. It was for them to decide who should stay at home and who should take the field, and in the innumerable disputes about land their decision was respected ; but should the dispute involve men of another village, they were expected to do their best for their own towns-men. In more serious disputes the whole valley made common cause against its neighbours, but this did not prevent all the communities combining, when threatened by an external foe. Criminal offences were not dealt with by the Jushteros, but by the Moollahs, who professed to administer the law according to the Sharyat ; this was, however, set aside in many instances in favour of ancient custom, which was very strong in some communities, and the prompt redress of grievances depended greatly on the personal influence of the aggrieved. Murder was regarded as a personal matter to be avenged by the nearest relative ; but should the case be of a very wanton nature, and the family of the murdered individual had sufficient influence with the community, reparation was enforced by general consent. Blood feuds were not permitted to last for an indefinite period, and after a time the parties were brought together and made to swear peace on the Koran. The crime of murder was rare, and the readiness to spill blood on slight occasions so noticeable among the Afghans was unknown. No public measure could be carried out except by general agreement, the details being left for the Jushteros to arrange.[1]

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[1] Major John Biddulph, pp. 17-18.

When the British re-established their Agency in Gilgit in 1889, they got a good chance to make their presence felt in Dardistan. They brought about changes in the relations of Gilgit tribes with Kashmir Government. The Agency took over military and political administration of the tribal region. Backed by the Resident, the British Agency was the dominant force.

Quick, indeed was the process to draw an arbitrary distinction between "settled"[1] and "unsettled" districts in the region. While "settled" districts constituted Gilgit valley, Astore and Boonji on the Indus, "unsettled" districts consisted of Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, Punial, Chilas, Kuh-Ghizar, and Ishkaman*. The British gave a ruling to draw a clear line between the "unsettled" districts and Kashmir territory. The ruling was unilateral, it was not even communicated to the Kashmir Darbar until 1905. The Kashmir Darbar were intrigued when the ruling was conveyed to them in a casual manner.

The British had full administrative control of the Political

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1. In 1892, Col. Algernon Durand, the British Agent at Gilgit, urged upon the Government of India the necessity of effecting a settlement of the districts of Gilgit, Astore and Boonji, as these were the districts from which grain locally produced was obtained for the Gilgit garrison. He held that a fair assessment would induce increase of cultivation and thus increase of the local grain supplies, and that a settlement would enable the British Government to ascertain what amount of locally produced grain was available for rationing the troops at Gilgit, every available maund of locally produced grain being of great value in view of the expense of importing grain from the valley of Kashmir or from the Punjab. The Government of India acknowledged the correctness of Col. Durand's views, and in 1893 settlement operations were commenced in Astore Tehsil by Lieutenant Mac Hutchin, who was given a short training in the settlement work in Kashmir ; the tehsils of Astore, Boonji and Gilgit were measured, assessed and the assessments were distributed on the holdings by the spring of 1895. Lt. Col. A.C. Talbot to Capt. H. Daly, No. 1693 D.O. April 21, 1898, GOI, Fgn, Extl A, January 1899, Nos. 45-56 ; Kak, B.L., *The Fall of Gilgit*, 1977, p. 9.

*Kuh-Ghizar and Ishkaman were sundered from Chitral in 1895 and formed into separate governorships, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1905, Nos. 370-373 ; GOI, Fgn, Front-A, April 1896, Nos. 11-24.

Agency† despite the fact that it was an establishment of the State Government. The Agency was maintained with yearly budgets by the State. The situation kept changing as a result of politically-motivated method of procedure adopted by the British. While in the beginning all the correspondence was carried on by the Agent with the Maharaja, the State was completely eliminated later on from the frontier affairs except in regard to securing its concurrence in appointment of Governors for the districts and such related unimportant matters. Forts and defence installations all over the Agency territory were manned by Kashmir forces in spite of the distinction between "settled" and "unsettled" areas. But State civil servants were not easily allowed to enter the "unsettled" districts. Permission was granted only when they were required to open hospitals and schools and build roads and canals.[1]

On March 26, 1935, the then Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh, and the resident in Kashmir, Colonel L.E. Lang, signed an agreement by which the Kashmir darbar leased for a period of sixty years from the 3rd of April, to the exclusive administration of the British Government so much of the Wazarat* of Gilgit province of the State of Jammu and Kashmir as lay to the right bank of the river Indus.[2]

In the month of July, 1935, the Imperial Service Troops vacated the leased territory and were brought down to Kashmir.[3] On the first of August, the Wazir-i-Wazarat of

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†From the year 1897 the Gilgit Agency began to be called as Political Agency.

[1] GOI, Fgn, and Pol, No. 64-K of 1927, Nos. 1-30; Kak, B.L., *The Fall of Gilgit*, 1977.

*The Wazarat of Gilgit included, besides Gilgit proper, the Tehsils of Boonji and Astore. It was governed, in theory, by a Kashmir officer appointed by the Darbar, who like the Wazir of Ladakh, held the title of Wazir-i-Wazarat. The Political Agent being the supreme political and military aurhority on the frontier, the Wazir-i-Wazarat was merely a figure head.

[2] GOI, Fgn. and Pol. File No. 114-X (Sec) of 1935, Nos. 1-35; JK 248/8-123 of 1918; p. 369, Lt. Col. Bhagwan Singh, *Political Conspiracies of Kashmir*, 1973, p. 119.

[3] Memo from RK, No. F-1-C/31, June 13, 1933, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, File No. 114-X (Sec) of 1935, Nos. 1-35; *The Weekly Ranbir, July 31, 1935*, Central Library, Jammu University.

Gilgit, Rao Rattan Singh, handed over the charge of the leased part of the Gilgit Wazarat to the Political Agent, Gilgit, Major Kirkbride.[1]

After the agreement for the lease was concluded, the Kashmir State ceased to have any interest in any administrative question across the Indus. It was not to make any contribution towards the cost of civil administration in the leased area with the exception of about rupees 15,000 on account of subsidies to the frontier Chiefs.[2] And the responsibility for the defence of the Agency devolved on the Gilgit Scouts.[3]

Ladakh

The Government of Ladakh was formerly a mild despotism under a ruler who bore the title of Gyalpo. The conduct of affairs was generally intrusted to the prime minister, or Kahlon, and the king was well satisfied both with his minister and with his subjects, if the former gave him sufficient means for the enjoyment of his royal pleasure, and if the latter never disturbed his quiet ease with their complaints. The king literally did nothing, except when roused to exertion by some unusual occurrence. His subjects could behold his royal presence only by the presentation of an offering in money, according to their circumstances. But this was a costly pleasure ; and the mental abstraction of the Buddhist prince was rarely disturbed by the curiosity, or loyal zeal, of his people, occasionally an ambitious prince would arise, who retained the whole power in his own hands. The apparent power of the prime minister was absolute, but his real power was much curbed by the wide-spread authority of the monastic establishments, and by partial independence of the petty Gyalpos and district Kahlons.

In Great Tibet the Kahlons of the four chief provinces of Ngari, U, Tsang, and Kham, were elected by the civil power

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1. GOI, Fgn and Pol, File No. 114-X (Sec) of 1935, Nos. 1-35 ; JK 248/8-123 of 1918 ; *The Weekly Ranbir, July 31, 1935* ; *A Handbook of the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1945*, p. 16.

2. Memo from RK, No. F-1-C/31, June 13, 1933, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, File No. 114-X (Sec) of 1935, Nos. 1-35.

3. *Ibid.*

in subordination to the Grand Lama, while the inferior Kahlons, and all other petty officers of State, were elected by the four chief Kahlons. But in Ladakh the prime minister's office was almost hereditary, that is, it was restricted to a member of one of the families of the principal Kahlons, or governors of districts. The choice was determined, as in other countries, either by royal favour and successful intrigue, or by greater popularity and superior abilities. Possession, however, gave so firm a grasp of power, that the office was usually retained in one family for several generations.

Many of the principal nobility of Ladakh were petty chiefs of valleys, which had once been independent. Thus there was a Gyalpo in Nubra, another in Gya, a third in Spiti ; a fourth in Zanskar ; a fifth in Paskyum, a sixth in Soth, a seventh in Suru, and an eighth in Hembabs, or Dras.

The prime minister was simply styled Kahlon, or "the minister", or Bangki-Kahlon, "the Chief Minister", while his deputy was usually known by the addition of his own name, as Kahlon-Rigsen, "minister Rigsen", or by prefixing the term Nono, as Nono Kahlon, "the younger, or deputy minister". The other Kahlons were distinguished by the names of the districts over which they ruled, as Kahlon-Bazgo, "the governor of Bazgo".

The next great officers were the Lonpos, or governors of towns, and the Kharpons, or commanders of forts. The former were distinguished by the names of their respective towns, as Lepon, "the governor of Leh", Gar-pon, "governor of Garo". In Leh, also, there were the Mak-pon, or "commander-in-chief", and the Chagsot, or "head collector of taxes" ; as well as the Shakspon, or "Chief Justice" ; and the Khrimpons, or "Magistrates". Lastly, there was the Kaka-Tadri, or "head master of the horse" ; and the Chagri-Goba, or "Kotwal", an office equivalent to that of mayor. The inferior officers were the Mipons, or Gobas (that is, literally, the "head men" of the villages), and the Shogampa, or "provincial collectors of customs."

The Gobas (who were also called Grong ones, or "village chiefs") were directly responsible to the Kahlons, or Gyalpos, of their respective districts, in all criminal matters, and in most accounts of revenue, although the Mipons, or head men, of some of the principal towns, rendered their accounts direct to the Chagsot, or lord high treasurer of Leh. But these exceptions were, it is believed, only made in the cases of such villages as were set apart for the particular maintenance of the queen or of some members of the royal family. The Changsot, or lord high treasurer, rendered his accounts to the Kahlon, or prime minister, who kept the privy purse of the king and his family.

The titles of the different functionaries varied in different districts ; but the most common were those which have just been given. The petty Gyalpos and provincial Kahlons were frequently called Depons, or "district chiefs", a name which recalls the Sanskrit Despati.

Among the Mohammedans of Ladakh (both the pure Kashmiris and the hybrid Arghuns, the petty chiefs were invariably called Chho, as Gya-pa-Choo, "the Gyalpo of Gaya."[1]

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[1] The British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246, of December 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, June 1887, Nos. 7-108 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 257-260.

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Fauna and Mineral Resources

Dardistan

The Himalayan ranges north and south of the Indus have been described as the "Sportsman's paradise" where many games were to be found.[1] Ibex, Markhor* and Ovis ammon were found on mountains in every part of Dardistan.[2] Besides these, there existed snow cocks and red bears on the mountains of Gilgit,[3] and Ishkaman had lions.[4] In Hunza markhor was called Bum. Hunza had, in addition to markhor and ibex, Maiaro (in Kashmir called Kel) and Urial. While markhor and ibex were found on precipitous and almost inacessible places, Urial subsisted on comparatively easy ground. Urial was also found in Boonji and Astore. At the latter place it was very migratory in its habits, even swimming the Astore river to change its feeding grounds from one side to the other. It was a gregarious animal but did not go in very large herds.[5]

People's Live-stock

The live-stock of the people consisted of buffaloes, yaks, cows, bulls, ponies, horses, donkeys, domestic fowls, sheep, goats, zo and zomos. These animals were mostly of local breed. In Astore ponies were extensively reared. They were of the Kashmiri breed, of medium size but smart. Horses found in Gilgit were reared especially for Polo, and some of them were supplied from Yarkand, Yasin and Kashgar. Donkeys were found in fairly large number, almost all the internal carrying business was conducted by means of these animals. Zo and Zomos were seen only in Haramosh illaqa and Zila-Bala and Das-Khirim in Astore. They were generally used for ploughing purposes. The oxen were short in size, but strong enough for the light work of agriculture apportioned to them. Sheep were reared with zeal for the sake of the wool, as every one poor or rich was fond of wearing Chogas.[1] The people of Ishkaman possessed yaks. But they never used them for any purpose. Their owners neither rode nor loaded them ; they did not even collect their valuable hair, still less did they milk them. These yaks were left in the upland pastures in a semi-wild state, and their owners only visited them either to kill one for meat or to brand a newly-born calf. In Ghizar, Punial and Yasin the same custom prevailed, and the only people who really used their yaks were the Wakhis, who put them to many uses.[2]

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[1] *A Handbook of Jammu and Kashmir State, 1947*, p. 3.

*Serpent-eater.

[2] AAR, 1911-12, p. 74 ; Younghusband, Sir Francis, *Kashmir*, 1909, p. 121 ; Douie, Sir James, *The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, p. 91 ; Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, 1912, p. 129.

[3] Major John Biddulph, p. 21.

[4] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 85.

[5] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 97.

The people in Dardistan were very fond of riding horses, but the animals they used for the purpose were not of a good pedigree. With a view to improving their breed, the British Agent, Gilgit, submitted, in 1900-1901, certain proposals to the Kashmir State Council. The proposals were sanctioned by the Maharaja-in-Council and a sum of Rs. 3,100/- was placed at the disposal of the Gilgit authorities to give effect to the proposals for the year in question. The Council also noted that there was a horse and a donkey stallion in the state stables at Gilgit, which should be utilised when giving effect to the scheme.[3]

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1. *Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Lahore 1917, available in State Archives, Jammu, pp. 52-53 ; GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276.
2. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 93.
3. AAR of Samvat 1957 (1900-1901 A.D.), p. 136.

Accordingly, from the year 1901 to 1904, a number of mares in the Gilgit Wazarat were covered by horse and donkey stallions under the close supervision of the vaterinary assistant, but the results obtained were far from satisfactory. A report of the Vaterinary Assistant showed that out of a total number of about 200 mares that were served by both the horse and donkey stallions during the period above specified, only 4 horses and 4 mules could be obtained from 8 mares. Such disappointing results were attributed to want of proper care on the part of the owners of the mares which were either covered before they felt inclined to be served, or even if covered in good time, no rest was allowed to the mares after service when they were taken for Polo and other hard riding as usual. The mares after having been served by the stallions were, it is said, also allowed to go to the jungle for grazing, were they mixed with other ordinary horses. This resulted in complete failure of the measures.

Although the zamindars had been warned to take more care and act upon the vaterinary assistant's instructions given them for him, they turned deaf ears to what was said to them. The zamindars of Astore, it appeared, did not even like their mares to be served by the stallions. In these circumstances the stallions were returned to Srinagar in July 1905.

Good riding ponies were, however, available in the neighbouring political districts where they were brought for sale by the people from Yagistan, as well as from Kashgar and Yarkand. Their price, in 1917, ranged upto Rs. 200 or a little more.[1]

The horses of the Yarkand breed had long hair and hard hoofs, which never required shoeing.[2]

For the improvement of the breed of cows and bulls, however, the Gilgit authorities had not kept any stud of a good genealogy. And the cattle wealth in Gilgit, apart from being of an inferior quality, was not of the required number. This shortage in the number of cattle was because of two reasons : First, of the little fodder that was produced in the country, a very large portion was taken by the Commissariat Department for the requirements of the Imperial Service Troops and very little was left for the cattle of ordinary zamindars[1], and, secondly, occasional attacks of mouth and foot diseases, rinderpest etc., used to encompass the decimation of the animals.[2]

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[1] *Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Lahore, 1917, p. 53 ; AAR, 1904-05, p. 13.

[2] *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974,* p. 369.

Minerals

Dardistan possessed the following minerals :

(1) **Gold** : Both the Indus and Gilgit rivers possessed auriferous deposits, though not extensively. The Hunza-Nagar (above Danyor) and Bagrot streams which were the principal affluents of the Gilgit were comparatively rich in gold. For being rich in gold the State of Nagar was termed by its own inhabitants as "the land of gold".[3]

(2) **Sulphur** : Sulphur occurred in the Hunza and Nagar States. In Hunza sulphur was very largely manufactured from some blackish, hard mud, which was put into large cauldrons of iron, together with a certain quantity of butter, and heated till the later seemed to draw out all the sulphur, which was carefully collected and made to settle in wooden pots. To 5 seers of mud a seer of butter was used, and between 2 and 3 seers of sulphur were extracted. Saltpetre was also obtained from a similar source.[4] In Nagar, sulphur was produced particularly towards the village of Pisan and the Barpu glacier.[5]

(3) **Arsenic sulphide (orpiments)** occurred in Chitral, Yasin and other parts of the Agency.[6]

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[1] AAR, 1912-14, p. 36.

[2] AAR, October 1927 to October 1930, p. 12.

[3] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 24 ; *Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Lahore, 1917, p. 59 ; Durand, Col. Algernon, *Making of a Frontier*, 1899, hereafter quoted as Col. Algernon Durand, p. 142.

[4] *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 367 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 111.

[5] *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 615.

[6] Gilgit Diary from 28th April to 5th May, 1878, GOI, Fgn. Sec, July 1878, Nos. 53-94 ; Gilgit Agency Pol. Diary for the month of October 1925, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, File No. 284-X, Sec, Extl, of 1927.

(4) **Iron** : This mine was discovered in Astore in 1879.[1]

(5) **Alum** : Mines of crude alum were discovered somewhere in the Gilgit wazarat in the year 1907.[2]

(6) **Garnets** : There were volcanic influences in the hot springs on both sides of the Hunza river close to Tashot. A feature of the direct route to Hunza was the garnets which were embedded in the hillsides, near Murtizabad in particular. They were always used in former times as bullets, sometimes encased in a thin coating of lead, more often just as they were dug out.[3]

Ladakh

Fauna : The domestic animals of Ladakh were ponies, asses, oxen, sheep, goats, dogs, fowls and bees.

Ponies : The ponies of Ladakh were small, active and hardy, but not numerous nor much used. At least one-half of the ponies used in the country were imported from Yarkand, but they were all geldings. The asses were small, and only equal to half-pony loads*.

Oxen : The oxen were the yak, or chaoritailed bull, and the yak cow, Brimo or Dimo, and their hybrid produce with the common cattle.

The yak was short, but broadly and strongly built, with a small head, short horns, and a wild looking eye. His long black hair reached close to the ground before it was cut, and he had usually a shaggy and savage appearance. The yak was used chiefly for carrying loads, as he was as a rule too refractory for the plough. The cow was kept only for milk.

The most valuable hybrids were the Dso bull and the Dsomo cow, which were the produce of the male yak and the common cow. The Dso was used, throughout Ladakh, for the plough as well as for carrying loads, as he was much more

[1] Gilgit Diary from 1st to 8th August 1879, GOI, Fgn, Sec, November 1879,Nos. 157-173.

[2] Revenue Minister to Maharaja of J and K, to the Secretary to the Chief Minister, No. 473, May 16, 1907, JK 86/H-105 of 1907.

[3] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 111.

*Ponies of all sizes were called Ta. Asses were called Bong.

docile than the yak and quite as strong. The Dso-mo yielded much more milk than the yak cow, and of a much richer quality. The milk was used chiefly for butter, of which almost every Ladakhi consumed—a certain quantity daily with his tea. The Dso was a very handsome animal, with long shaggy hair, mostly black and white, but frequently reddish—brown and white, and sometimes altogether white. The hair was cut annually like that of the yak, and was used for the same purpose.

The other hybrids were little valued. The Drepo or Drelpo was the male produce between the common bull and the Dso-mo, but it was inferior in strength, and the Dremo, or female, did not yield more milk than a common cow. The cross between the yak and the Dsomo was still less valued. Other crosses were few and accidental ; as the produce of all these hybrids quickly degenerated.

Sheep : The Ladakhi sheep were of two distinct kinds, the tall black-faced Huniya, which was used mainly for carrying burdens, and the pretty diminutive sheep of Purik, which was used only for food. All sheep were called by the general name of Luk ; a flock was called luk-khyu, the shepherd, luk-pa or luk-dsi ; and the sheepfold, luk-ra.

The Huniya sheep was much larger than any of the Indian breeds, the height averaging from twenty-seven to thirty inches. Nearly the whole of the traffic of Ladakh was transported on these sheep.

Captain John Biddulph, one of the members of the Yarkand Mission, supplies the following note on the use of sheep carrying supplies :—

"I left Tankse on the 18th September, taking with me thirty sheep, carrying loads of grain and flour. Wishing merely to test their marching capabilities, I looked upon the supplies they carried as extra, and their loads remained intact till within four marches of Shahidula, when I was forced to commence using them.

"The Tartars usually make their sheep carry a load of 32 lbs, and march 7 or 8 miles a day only, making frequent halts ; as, however, I expected to be marching hard at times, I put only a load of 20 lbs. on each sheep. Beyond this I took no care of them, and simply let them take their chance.

"A great part of the route was over rough and stony ground, but only one of them broke down, though many of them showed signs of footsoreness at times.

"The load secured by breast and breech ropes, rides well, sinking into the fleece and not being liable to shift.

"On fair ground, where they marched with a broad front, they marched at the rate of 1¾ miles an hour : a large number would no doubt travel slower, and much must depend upon the breadth of the road.

"The greatest difficulty they had to contend with was crossing the streams, and while marching in the Karakash valley, they were sometimes obliged to cross the river three or four times in a day. Not only were the roads liable to become damaged, but the weight of water hanging in their fleeces, and on several occasions breezing, greatly impeded progress.

"On the days on which they had no grass, they had literally nothing to eat, as they refused grain, not being accustomed to it. One man was sufficient to manage the lot, and two men, I should say, could easily drive and manage a hundred.

"On arrival in camp they were unloaded and turned out to shift for themselves till dark, when they were herded for the night.

"The fact that a flock of sheep carrying twenty loads should be able to march 330 miles in a month with only one casualty, through a country in which forage is always scanty and at a very inclement season of the year, is remarkable. After the first march the elevation was never less than 11,000 feet, and the thermometer at night sank to 15° and 16° below zero. The sheep, however, did not apparently feel either cold or elevation.

"Future exploring parties on the Karakoram will, I feel certain, find a flock of sheep a most useful addition to their camp. Not only are they very easily looked after, but they can feed themselves as they go along among the rocks where horses would starve. Besides this, when their loads are disposed of they can themselves be eaten . . . ."[1] The Huniya was, therefore, much prized, and a man's wealth was generally estimated by the number of his sheeps for they were food, clothing and carriage.[2]

The Purik sheep when full grown was not larger than a South-down lamb of five or six months : but "in the fineness and weight of its fleece, and in the flavour of its mutton it is equal", says Moorcroft "to any race hitherto discovered". It gave two lambs within twelve months. It was twice shorn during the year, and the total clip yielded fully three pounds of wool, of which the first clip in Moorcroft's estimation was "fine enough for tolerably good shawls." The Purik sheep was much prized for the flavour and delicacy of its mutton ; and in the western districts of Ladakh, scarcely any other meat was eaten.[3]

Goats : The common domestic goat of Ladakh was the well known shawl-goat, which thrived only in the most elevated districts. It was bred in Nubra, Zanskar, and Rupshu, but the finest wool was brought from Changthang. The fleece of the shawl-kid was soft, curly, and beautifully glossy. It was used as a lining for cloaks by the more wealthy, and was exceedingly warm and comfortable. The shawl-goat was only shorn once a year, and the wool was at once separated from the coarser hair. The hair was manufactured into blanketing for tents, coarse sacking. and ropes for home consumption. In Leh the wool was roughly cleaned, by which process it lost two-fifths of its weight.

Dogs : In Ladakh the dog was the well-known shepherd's dog, or Tibetan mastiff. He had a shaggy coat, and was usually of a black or black-and-tan colour, with tail curled upward on to the back, where the hair was displaced by the

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1. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 208-210, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, pp. 86-87 ; *Assessment Report of the Ladakh Tehsil* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh Tehsil, 1909, p. 25.

2. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 210.

3. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 213-214 ; Douie, Sir James, *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, pp. 91-93.

constant rubbing of the tail. He was an ill-tempered, fierce and cowardly brute. Cats were also common.[1]

Fouls : The domestic fowl was found at Leh and in the Nubra valley. It was only reared by Musalmans.

Bees : Dr. Aitchison writes :—"At Leh I saw no honey-bee, but got some specimens of a bombus or humble-bee, called bonga-nakpo (black-spotted bee), and a wasp called bony-ser (or golden bee). But honey for trading with is manufactured in Leh without the aid of bees."

Wild Animals

The wild animals of Ladakh were both numerous and interesting. "The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies". The elevated plains of the Indus and the lofty table-lands of Rupshu abounded with the wild horse, the marmot, and the hare : while the snowy mountains and rugged glens were pregnant with many varieties of the wild goat, sheep, and deer.

Kyang*, which has been called a horse by some, and an ass by others, when full grown, stood about fourteen hands high. Its ears were longer than those of the horse, and a line of black hair extended along the whole of the back. The tail had a long tuf of hair at the end, like that of the Zebra. The general colour was a reddish-brown, with white on the stomach.

The Kyangs were not very bashful of man, and, if unmolested, generally came to inspect the passing traveller at about 150 yards distance. Their flesh was eaten by the shepherds. It tasted like coarse beef-steak.

Wild Yak : The Wild Yak, called Brong or Dong, was very rare. Its only known habitat were the Polrang and Kepsang valleys, which led into that of the Changchenmo, at an elevation of between 15,000 and 16,000 feet, and also the adjoining ravine, left of the Shyok river, which the Yarkandis had named dongaylak, *i.e.* ; the "wild yaks" summer pasture ground."

[1] Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 214-215.

*The male was called simply Kyang and the female Mor-Kyang.

The dong was much larger than the domestic yak, and uniformly black, with a slight rusty tinge about parts of the head and back. It looked very like a large bison, with a thick coat of long, shaggy hair, and bushy tail like that of a horse. The dongs were occasionally killed and eaten by the Champas or shepherds.

Wild Sheep : The Nyan or Ovis Ammon was the largest of the wild sheep of Ladakh ; it was found in the summer months from an altitude of about 14,500 feet to 19,000 feet ; the difficulties of obtaining this animal were very much magnified, though its strong sense of smell, and the very open nature of the ground on which it was found, rendered it difficult of approach. The shifty nature of the wind had also to be contended against. The grounds most frequented by this animal were Rupshu, Hanle, and Shushal ; horns of over 50 inches long and 20 inches in girth have been obtained.

Napoo or Barhal : It was a smaller kind of wild sheep found in Changchenmo, Tiri, and most parts of Ladakh. Its horns ran to 30 inches and some times more. It was found upto heights of about 15,000 feet. The meat of the animal was particularly good to eat.

The Shapoo or Urial : The Urial of the Punjab and Dardistan was found in most parts of Ladakh, chiefly along the Indus, Gya, and about Ranbir Bagh. The Tibetan antelope was found in immense numbers in all the valleys of Changchenmo. It stood something over 3 feet high, and the horns ran to 28 inches or over. It was found at altitudes from about 14,500 feet, as at Kiam, up to 19,000 feet.

Wild Goat : It was called Rapho-Chh, or the "great goat" ; it was nothing other than the Markhor, or "snake-eater". Markhor did not, as a rule, go as high as the ibex, but lived on much more dangerous ground. The markhor kept in herds, the old males would go with the females and young males in December, and would separate again in the spring.

Ibex : It was another species of the wild goat. It was found in many parts of Ladakh. In the winter and spring it could be easily found, but in the summer months, when the grass was plentiful, it covered a great deal of ground and was often difficult to find. The animal, when shot, was frequently much mutilated by its headlong plunge down some precipitous cliff. They were also snared at night and shot in the grey dawn of the morning, when they ventured down to the streams to drink. They were killed for the sake of the soft under-fleece, which, in Kashmir, was called Asali Tus*. This was an exceedingly fine and soft wool of a light brown colour, which was exported to Kashmir, where it was used as a lining for shawls, woollen stockings, and gloves. It was also woven into a very fine cloth, called Tusi, of a soft and delicate texture, which was much prized for its warmth.

Hare : The hare was common throughout Ladakh. It was called Ri-bong or the "hill ass", on account of the length of its ears. The Bhots did not eat hares, and they considered the animal as a species of donkey. The animals sat behind the rocks, with their long ears pricked, and half their heads just raised above the stone. When roused they ran from rock to rock, reminding of the words of the Psalmist, "the rocks are a refuge for the conies". The Ri-bong was as large as an English hare, had longer ears, and was of a bluish-grey or slate-colour. A smaller kind Lagonyrs, was still more common.[1]

Fish: The lakes, streams and rivers of Ladakh were pregnant with fish ; but the chariness of life which is taught by the religion of Buddha, prevented their being caught. The generality were scaleless and not good eating. The only kind fit for food had scales and weighed about one and a half pound.

Birds. The rekpa or chikor was found in all parts of Ladakh. The eagle (Cha-nak, or the "black bird") and the Kite were common enough, and so was the large raven. Smaller birds were also numerous. And water birds like the water-fowl, Chhu-cha, wild goose, teal, wild ducks, mallard, storks, kingfishers, gulls etc. were also seen.

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*Meant simply "genuine Tus", or the wool of the wild goat ; Γι meant "nature".

[1] AAR, 1931 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 195-203 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, pp. 95-98.

Purgon. A small field-pigeon was very common in Ladakh. It was called purgon. And the only reptile in the country was a small lizard.[1]

Insects : In Ladakh the absence of insects was very remarkable. The common house-flies and blue-bottles were common in July and August. Locusts were seen in the Zanskar district only, where they committed fearful devastation. Sandflies swarmed in some parts, especially in Nubra and near the lakes, some of the camping grounds in the neighbourhood of the Tso mor-ori lake being uninhabitable at times owing to the millions of sand-flies which infested them. "After marching 19 miles into Kyang-Dum, I was obliged to leave the place almost directly after pitching camp, and move on to the next halting ground, on account of the swarms of sand-flies". (Strachey ; Manifold).[2]

Minerals : Ladakh was rich in mineral wealth. The useful minerals of the area were :

Slate : It occurred in certain parts of Ladakh but was not made any use of by the local people.

Lime : The most prevalent rock in Ladakh was limestone. It formed the range that divided Rupshu from Zanskar, and was also found throughout the latter district ; on the banks of the Indus and on the Photu La and Hanu passes. It also occurred at both sides of the Pangong lake, and extended from Sassar pass to the Karakoram range. Notwithstanding this general prevalence of the rock, the scarcity of wood was so great that none but the wealthy could afford to use lime mortar in building their houses.

Gypsum : This useful mineral was found at the sulphur-mines, on the banks of the Puga rivulet, either in pure white flakes regularly disposed, or in a compact rock, with crystals of sulphur attached to it, and thin veins of nearly pure sulphur disseminated through it. No use whatever was made of it by the people.

Crystal : It occurred in the Kargil Tehsil of Ladakh.

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[1] AAR, 1912-13, p. 88 ; Cunningham Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 205-206; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, pp. 102-103.

[2] *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 104.

Marble : White marble was met with at the head of the Muglib valley, and near the Kumdan glaciers, in the bed of the Shyok river.

Clay : Extensive deposits of the finest clays of all colours were found throughout Ladakh. They were all lacustrine formations.

Steatite : This mineral was found by Vigne on the banks of the Dras river, near the Taskyum bridge.[1]

Sulphur : It was obtained at Puga in Ladakh. There were sulphur springs in Rupshu with temperature varying from 80° to 148° in which the people took bath for cure.

Gold : It was found in the beds of the Zanskar, Indus[2], Shyok[3], Dras and Suru[4] rivers. It was obtained by washing the sands of these rivers ; but the washings were entirely carried on by Muslims, as the Buddhists of Ladakh had long been prohibited from the search. The prohibition was said to have originated in the fears of the Gyalpo, lest the people should neglect their fields in the tempting pursuit of gold.[5]

Iron and Lead : These minerals occurred in the Indus valley.

Copper : A fine variety of white copper existed in the Zanskar Illaqa.[6]

Borax : Borax was obtained in the Puga valley. The mine of this metal, in 1908, was about three square miles in extent.

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1. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 229-232 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, pp. 30-32.

2. Memo, dated February 15, 1885, by Ney Elias on the Administration of Ladakh, and the Revenue Settlement, Ladakh, Ladakh Diaries for October, November, and December 1885, and January 1886, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1886, Nos. 1-7 ; see also Cunningham, p. 235 and *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 30.

3. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 29.

4. Report on Economic and Industrial Survey of the Jammu and Kashmir State, p. 14.

5. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 332.

6. Memo, dated February 15, 1885, by Ney Elias on the Administration of Ladakh, and the Revenue Settlement, Ladakh, Ladakh Diaries for October, November, and December 1885 and January 1886 ; GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1886, Nos. 1-7 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p.224.

It was situated in a barren tract of land far away from any human habitation, at a distance of 7 stages from Leh. It yielded borax dust of whitish colour of two varieties ; *viz* :

1. Khak Sohaga Abi
2. Khak Khushki.

Borax was extracted by boiling the borax charged dust with water in large iron pans. The product was of two kind, *viz.*—

1. Pure Borax
2. Adulterated, called Koru, which was a sort of residue from the pure borax. The average output of borax was 1,000 maunds per annum valued at rupees 2,500 at the rate of rupees 2 — 8 — 0 per maund.[1]

Soda : It was found in the Thogji Chanmo plain, the banks of the Tso-Kar being quite white with it. The salt found here was natron, or subear-bonate of soda. It also was found in extensive patches on portions of the Kuenlun plains, and in the Nubra valley, where Dr. Bellew says 3,000 maunds of this salt had been collected in 1873 for the Kashmir market.

Magnesia and Salt : These metals were found on the banks of the Tshomoriri lake.[2]

Garnets : Garnets of a dark brown colour were found at Puga by Dr. Thomson in a coarse grit stone rock.[3]

Sapphire : Sapphire was accidently discovered sometime during the last quarter of the 19th century at an altitude of over 14,000 feet in Padar. The area was exploited by a

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[1] Proposal Regarding Arrangements for Collection and Extraction of Borax from the Mine at Puga for Samvat year 1965, JK 7/H-121 of 1908 ; Ladakh Diaries for October, November and December 1885, and January 1886, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1886, Nos. 1-7 ; AAR, 1911-12, p. 42.

[2] AAR, 1903-04, p. 212 ; memo, dated February 15, 1885, by Ney Elias on the Administration of Ladakh, and the Revenue Settlement, Ladakh Diaries for October, November and December 1885 and January 1886; GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1886, Nos. 1-7 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1884, p. 236 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 30.

[3] *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 32 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 38.

Mineral Company till it was thought that the vein had exhausted. Later on, several new veins were discovered in the same area as well as in its neighbourhood. And the Mineral Survey Department of the State discovered between 1912 and 1914, some semi-precious stones like rubellite green, tourmaline and smoky quartz. The first two occurred in the neighbourhood of the sapphire mine.[1]

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[1] Middlemiss, C.S. and Joti Parshad, Note on the Acquamarine Mines of Daso, JK Pol. No. 173/H-98 of 1917; memo, dated Februray 15, 1885, by Ney Elias on the Administration of Ladakh, and the Revenue Settlement, Ladakh Diaries for October, November and December 1885, and January 1886, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1886, Nos. 1-7.

3

General Life of People

People of Dardistan

General Characteristics : In appearance the men of Dardistan were light, active figures averaging from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8 inches in height. Though well-made, they were not, as a rule, remarkable for muscular development, presenting in this respect a marked contrast to the Tartar races. Notwithstanding their hardy simple lives, they seemed unequal to any prolonged physical effort. Their constitutions also seemed to want stamina, and they succumbed easily to disease or change of climate. This want of physical energy and enterprise was most strongly marked in the Shin caste. They considered husbandry the only honourable employment for men, and so averse were they to labour, that the poorest of them employed Baltis in their agriculture, which was of a rude and slovenly kind. Numbers of Baltis came yearly into the Gilgit district to serve for hire.

In disposition they were tractable, good-tempered, fond of rejoicing and merry-making, neither cruel nor quarrelsome, and they surrendered readily to constituted authority.[1] They were bold but not blood-thirsty, though they did not care much for human life.[2] Among them murders were very rare, and were almost invariably the result of a slip on the part of a lady.[3] The women were pleasing-looking when young, but were not particularly handsome. Exception must be made in favour of the Khos of the "Fakir Mushkin" class in Chitral, who showed certain physical peculiarities not shared by the other Dard tribes. In person they were Indo-Aryans of a high type, not unlike the Shins of the Indus valley about Koli ; but more handsome, with oval faces and finely-cut features. The most striking feature about them, and one which distinguished them from all other Dard tribes, was their large and beautiful eyes. They had also unusually fine hair, of which they were proud. The women of Chitral were formerly sought out for their beauty in the slave markets o 1 Kabul, Peshawar, and Badakhshan. The fairest complexions were to be seen among the Boorish of Hunza and Yasin.[1]

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[1] Major John Biddulph, p. 72 ; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XXIV, J and K State, Part I, p. 324.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 424.

[3] Col. Algernon, Durand, pp. 206-207.

Languages : In Dardistan there were only two indigenous languages, Shina (or Shinauri), the language of the Shins, which was spoken generally throughout Dardistan, and Boorishki, the language of Hunza proper, of Nagar town and valley (but not of the rest of that country), of Punial and of certain villages of Yasin. In the Karambar valley of Ishkaman and in Little Guhjal, the Wakhis had their own language. In Yasin there was some Shina and a good deal of Chitrali or Khowar, and the Boorishki tongue, which differed considerably from the dialect of Hunza, was not holding its own and was limited to darkot and the remoter valleys.[2]

Castes : There were certain subdivisions of the Dard race which might be called castes, since they were kept up by rules more or less stringent against the inter marriage of those who belonged to different divisions.[3]

The most honoured caste was that of the Ronos, who ranked next to the ruling family in every country in which they were found. The wazirs were generally, though not always, chosen from among the Rono families. They existed in small

[1] Major John Biddulph, pp. 72-73.

[2] Capt. Stuart H. Godfrey to Col. Sir A.C. Talbot, No. 92, January 6, 1897, GOI, Fgn, Genl. B, April 1897, Nos. 5-7 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 171 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 140 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladukh, 1974*, p. 615 ; *A Handbook of the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1947*, p. 13 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 32.

[3] Drew, Frederick, p. 425.

numbers in Nagar, Gilgit, and Punial, gradually increasing in numbers as one travelled westward through Yasin, Mastuj, and Chitral. In Nagar and Yasin they called themselves Hara and Haraiyo, and in Chitral Zundra, but they claimed to be all of the same stock. Wherever they existed they were held in high esteem. They had two chief traditions relative to their origin. both of which might contain a germ of truth. One was that they were the scion of three brothers, Zoon, Rono, and Harai, the sons of a certain Soomalik who ruled in Mastuj before the establishment of the Shahreis line. The other was that they were of Arab blood, and descended from Mohammed Hanifa, the son of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. Their small numbers, general distribution, and the universal estimation in which they were held, are evidence in favour of the first assertion, and it is possible that they might be descended from Arabs who settled in the upper part of the Chitral valley at the time of the Arab conquest of Badakhshan, at the end of the 7th century. A claim to Arab descent was, however, very common among many sections of the inhabitants of these valleys, but it seems to rest on no real foundation. According to another version they came originally from Rajauri, near Poonch, and were descended from three brothers, Sirung, Sooroong, and Kunger Putool.[1]

Next to the Ronos, in order of consideration, came the Shins, who did not form the majority of the population anywhere except in Gor, Chilas, Tangir. the Indus valley below Sazin, and the upper part of the Gilgit valley above Punial, and were not found at all in the higher and less fertile parts, till one got further up the Indus valley beyond Haramosh. Although numerically inferior, they had established their language to the exclusion of other's wherever they had penetrated. They gave their daughters to Ronos and Sayyids, but could not marry the daughters of Ronos or Sayyids in return. A Sayyid gave his daughter only to a Sayyid and also married girls from royal families. The Ronos could marry the illegitimate daughters of the rulers. The Shins married Yeshkun women, but did not give their daughters to Yeshkuns in return.

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[1] Major John Biddulph, pp. 34-35.

The Shins looked upon themselves as the aristocracy of the country, and claimed to be of a more honourable caste than others, without being able to show any foundation for this claim.

The next in order and the most numerous caste were the Yeshkuns, who formed the entire population of Hunza, Nagar and Punial, and nearly all the population of Yasin, besides being numerically superior in Gilgit, Sai, Darel and Astore. In Hunza and Nagar they did not call themselves Yeshkun, but Boorish ; and in Yasin, Woorshik and Boorisho.

Leaving among them, in varying numbers, were Sayyids, Krammins, Doms, Shotos, and Goojurs. All of these occupied an inferior position ; except the Sayyids, who related that they first settled in the country in the time of Tamerlane. They were treated with the highest respect, and received in marriage daughters, as has been mentioned before, from the ruling families but without reciprocity, for a Sayyid's daughter was given only to a Sayyid. There were none in Hunza but elsewhere they were scattered through the country in small numbers. There was seldom more than one Sayyid's house in each village.

The Krammins, who were millers and potters, were most numerous in Darel, and did not exist in Hunza or Nagar. They did not intermarry with any other caste. Their name was probably derived from the Persian Kamin, "mean", though Mr. Shaw, in his paper on "stray Aryans in Tibet", suggests that the name was derived from Krum, "work".

The Doms, who were musicians, blacksmiths, and leather workers, were most numerous in Yasin, Nagar and Chilas, in which last place they formed a sixth of the population.

In Nagar there was a caste called Shoto, which existed nowhere else ; they worked in leather, and ranked below the Doms, who took daughters from them without giving in return.

Like the low caste of men of India, the men belonging to these inferior castes were of very dark complexion, coarse features, and inferior physique.

In Gilgit itself there were a great number of Kashmiris, or, as they were called, Kashiroos, whose progenitors settled in the place in the time of Ahmed Shah Abdali, 1760 A.D. They, in 1880, formed the largest section of the population, and the shrewdness which formed so distinctive a part of the character of the ordinary Kashmiri, had suffered little by transplanting. Some were said to have penetrated into Chitral, where they had since become merged in the regular population. Those in Gilgit were weavers and carpenters, and were regarded with some contempt both by the Shins and the Yeshkuns. Their distinctive castes were Meer, Sheikh, Paiyr, Lon, Suniyar (goldsmiths), Dar, Rawut, But, and Tatchon (carpenters); all of which castes were also found in Kashmir. They were all tillers of the soil, and the trades at which they worked occasionally, such as weaving, were irrespective of caste, with the exception of the goldsmith and carpenters. They intermarried without restriction among themselves, except the Tatchon, who gave daughters to the other castes, but did not receive from them in return. They occasionally gave daughters to Shins and Yeshkuns without reciprocity. With the Krammins and Doms they did not marry at all.[1]

Some of these Kashmiris of Gilgit were bent upon making mischief every now and then. They found pleasure in creating factious feelings amongst certain simpletons of this place, whom they always prepared for nugatory litigation against one another. They were very troublesome to the local authorities, and in the year 1917 the Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Thakur Singh, recommended to the Maharaja-in-Council that, with a view to restoring normal conditions in Gilgit, these trouble-shooters be made to leave the place for good and all.[2]

In the valleys south of Gilgit, the Goojurs pastured their cattle on the high lands, not mixing with the people of the country in any way. In Tangir and Darel they were found in great numbers, and they counted their herds by thousands. They attached themselves to no locality, though perhaps for a generation the same men frequented one pastureground, building rude hovels and making a poor pretence at cultivating small patches of ground, but a very small excuse seemed to be sufficient to drive them, with their herds, in search of fresh pastures. They spoke the dialect of Punjabi, peculiar to their caste.[1]

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[1] Gilgit Agency Official Diary for the week ending the 29th of June 1890, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, August 1890, Nos. 192-206; *Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, 1917, pp. 45-48 (Available in the J and K State Archives, Jammu); Major John Biddulph, pp. 35-40; *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. XXIV, J and K State, Part 1, pp. 321-322; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 200; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 860; Drew, Frederic, pp. 425-428.

[2] *Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Lahore 1917, p. 48.

Gushpurs : The aristocracy in Dardistan were styled as 'Gushpurs'. These people did not turn their hands to agriculture or any task that savoured of utility, but expected to be supported by the community to which they belonged in comparative affluence and idleness all their days. After 1895 there prevailed complete peace and serenity in Dardistan and, as a result, the number of the Gushpurs greatly increased, for prior to this year they used to be decimated by periodic fratricide on an extended scale. Only one in each family could hope to succeed to a position of authority and wealth and the outlook for the remainder was a glum one. And provision of means of subsistence to the Gushpurs was one of the problems that the Britishers found themselves confronted with on the Gilgit frontier.[2]

Food and Drink : Food in Hunza was always scarce. On rising a man would eat nothing but would go straight to his fields. About 9 O' clock he would return and take bread and vegetables, with milk, butter-milk or meat. At midday he had fruit, if there was any fresh ; if not he had dried apricots kneaded with water. And in the evening he had the same as in the morning.[3] Children ate four meals daily. Women during confinement, and sick persons generally, were made to consume as much as one seer of ghee (clarified butter) per day.[1]

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[1] *Ibid* ; also *Census Report of India*, 1931, Vol. I, p. 332 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 40.

[2] Report by Sir Evelyn Howell on his Tour in the Gilgit Agency, dated November 25, 1927, GOI, Fgn. and Pol. Deptt. File No. 186-X (Sec) of 1935, Nos. 1-29.

[3] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 133.

In winter all classes killed and stored meat and meat was eaten every day, but at night only. In summer, perhaps once in ten days, a piece of meat was eaten, but fruit was really the Hunza staple. It was eaten with bread, far more so than vegetables, as it was more abundant and needed little attention.[2]

The food of all was much the same as that described as eaten by the Hunza people, but in the Gilgit valley more tea was drunk, as it was easily obtained[3] and in Astore people took "bhota", or boiled rice (imported) as an additional item of diet.[4] Wine was universally drunk though forbidden by Islam.

Dress and Ornaments : The Dress of the Dards was woollen, except among the higher people, who wore cotton clothes during the summer if they could get them. The dress consisted of trousers, Choga (or gown-coat), a Waistband to confine this, and lastly, a cap. The cap was a bag of woollen cloth half a yard long, which was rolled up outwards at the edges until it got to the size to fit comfortably to the head, round which the roll made a protection from cold or from sun nearly as good as a turban. It was called Kui (in Hunza Parzin). There was also a curious warm cloth made of duck's feathers woven in with wool, worn only by women.

For years the men wore no trousers at all. In Hunza loose trousers indeed used to be worn, so loose that it was unnecessary to remove them for any purpose whatever. When doing any awkward work trousers were discarded.

The women of Nagar did not wear pyjamas even up to 1935, and it is said that even in Hunza pyjamas were only introduced in 1890 by its wazir, Humayun Beg. The women were fond of chintz which they made into long loose coats.

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1. JK 25/H-32 of 1896.
2. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 133-134 ; GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276.
3. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 186.
4. JK 25/H-32 of 1896.

The normal footgear of the Dards consisted of long loose leather boots called pabboo, but for climbing and rough purposes, as well as generally by the poorer classes—for a pabboo was locally an elegant and comparatively expensive article—the taoti was worn. A taoti was a piece of skin wrapped round the leg and foot, and kept in place by a leather thong wound round and round. When new it was a splendid form of footgear and gave a fine grip on a rock. But when old, the wearer had constantly to sit down to fasten these pieces of leather, full of holes, round his feet.

Both men and women wore ornaments which were of gold, silver or brass. These consisted of necklaces, rings, bracelets or brass buttons if all else failed. Amulets were also worn. In Astore the poorest farmer was expected to spend some fourty eight rupees in the way of ornaments for his wife before marriage. The women applied certain drugs to their faces to protect the complexion against the rigours of the climate. Tooth paste was not used and teeth were usually cleaned with a willow twig.[1]

Houses : The people of the Gilgit valley were, on the whole, well-housed. The design of the houses was usually similar, a number of small low rooms leading out of one another with rafters overlaid with mud. There were no chimneys. The window and chimney were one, a square opening in the flat roof over the hearth. The main room had some dignity about it, with an octagonal sky-light made by rafters laid crosswise, but even on a bright day the interior was dark. The universal use of paraffin oil lamps mitigated the severity of the long cold winters, spent huddled up in a dark room, but nonetheless the rooms were stuffy and dreary, and winter was a trying time for the people.

The floor of the main living room was usually divided into three parts by two beams let into it. The left side, facing the hearth, was reserved for the women, the right for the men and the centre space was kept for children and servants. On one side of the room the floor was raised, and here honoured guests were seated. Against the wall of the raised part were carved shelves on which the family possessions were kept. Tea-spots and tea-cups, usually of Russian origin, trays, bottles and other domestic odds and ends were kept here, but more valuable objects, clothes in particular, were kept in locked tin boxes. Immediately below the sky-light was the fire-place, with a clay support for the pot.

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[1] JK. 25/H-32 of 1896 ; *Assessment Report of Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Lahore, 1917, p. 15 ; *Census of India*, 1931, J and K Vol. I, p. 324 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 425 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 74 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 141 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 189.

The walls of the living room and also of some of the lesser rooms were decorated with conventional designs, made of flour. When the time of sowing the crops arrived the walls of the room were cleaned and the seed was stowed in a strong bag, made of skin, and placed near the door. A sheep was killed, bread was made, and a feast ensued. All in the house ate, then the flour was taken and patterns, usually round circles or little blobs, made with it on the walls of the house. Then the man who had made the patterns went outside and put some flour on the head and shoulders of the men who would sow the seed for the new crop. This custom was general in the states of the Hindukush but had by 1935 died out in Gilgit itself ; the Hunza stamping or marking with flour only was done.

In the houses of well-to-do people there used to be a new guest room, placed apart from the rest of the house so that neither guest nor host might be incommoded. It was, actually, a small, dingy damp hovel, with a door to pass through which the visitor had to bend double. In Hunza the houses were often three storeys high, as land was scarce ; they were better built than elsewhere in Dardistan, more airy and rather better lit, but otherwise presented little difference.[1]

In Astore, where cold was intense, houses were built with three outer walls. The family lived in the central room

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[1] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 184-186 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 144.

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during the winter and all the members slept at night naked under one long woollen covering.[1]

At the time when life and property were not quite safe in these parts from the raids and plunders of the neighbouring frontier tribesmen, the people in some villages grouped their houses together. Since the introduction of law and order in this country by the Britishers and the Dogras, however, such precautions were no longer necessary and the people now lived in isolated houses built in their own holdings and realised that congested habitation was insanitary, whereas isolated houses conduced to improvement in public health.[2]

Amusements : The amusements of the people consisted of polo, hunting, swimming, wrestling, tug of war, racing[3], horse-riding etc[4] ; but of these the Chief was polo, which occupied a great deal of their interests. It was the national game.[5] The Dards play, however, lacked the neatness of the Munnipoori game ; but what was wanting in style was quite made up in enthusiasm, old men joining in the game as long as they were able to sit on a horse. Matches were generally played for some small stake, and the conquerors exacted all the rights of victory by taunting their beaten opponents.[6]

The Dards were passionately fond of horse-riding. An elegant horse with a woman sitting in front, and the rider, sitting behind holding the reins, was a common sight in Gilgit.[7]

As polo was the national game, so dancing was the national amusement, and no description of these people would be complete without mention of it. Feast days, births, weddings, any occasion of a gathering, served as an excuse for dancing, and the end of a game of polo was always signalised by a dance. The spectators formed a ring, inside which the musicians were seated, opposite the principal personage present. The instruments tuned up, and a murmur went round the circle as to who would dance. Soon a name was called out, or a volunteer stepped into the ring and, with a word to the hand, commenced. Several different steps were in vogue, each of which had its special air, the Dunni, Soz, Balos (Iskardo), Tuppnutt, Tajwer and Kashmiri. Almost all of these commenced slowly, increasing in pace till the performer was bounding round the circle at top speed. As soon as one was tired, fresh dancers were always ready to come forward, and hours were often passed without either performers or spectators seeming to weary. The dancing was sometimes really graceful and interesting to watch, and formed a great contrast to the terrible monotony of an Indian nautch. In Hunza a very spirited sword-dance was performed. Sometimes two or three dancers entered the circle together, one acting as leader to the others. At weddings ten or twelve joined in, each holding sword or battle-axe in hand. The public dancing of women, mixed with men, was by 1880 discontinued everywhere except Hunza. In Chitral and Yasin a class of people called Ashimadek affected to despise dancing, and seldom joined in it, but the rulers of those countries kept dancing-boys for their amusement.

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[1] *Assessment Report*, *Astore*, 1896, p. 13, JK. 25/H-32 of 1896.

[2] *Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Lahore, 1917, p. 15.

[3] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 192 ; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, J and K State, p. 326.

[4] Kak, B.L., *The Fall of Gilgit*, 1977, p. 18.

[5] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, October 1899, Nos. 18-25 ; Younghusband, Sir Francis, *Wonders of the Himalaya*, 1924, p. 194 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 85.

[6] Major John Biddulph, p. 85.

[7] Kak, B.L., *The Fall of Gilgit*, 1977, p. 18.

The music consisted of a double-headed drum beaten with sticks, two or three pairs of small metal kettle-drums, and two or three clarionets made of apricot wood. Special airs were reserved for the ruler and different officials. The musicians were Doms, and every man of any consideration had his own band, which attended him wherever he moved. Every village also had its band. The singing was of a less pleasing nature, but it was interesting, as being one of the methods by which old historical traditions were preserved. In Gilgit singing by individuals was not common, the usual practice being to form large chorus parties, which chaunted the deeds of former kings.

Generally the singers formed into two parties, each of ten or a dozen, and sang alternate verses. The end of the verse was emphasized by a simultaneous step or bound forward, or sideways, which caused jostling and somewhat marred the effect.

Considerable difference existed in the nature of the songs of the different countries. In Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar, the songs were, with few exceptions, of a war-like nature, and celebrated the achievements of different princes. In Hunza and Nagar, where the language spoken was Boorishki, the songs were in Shina, as the native language did not readily lend itself to poetry. Shina songs were harsh, and the words presented a few striking images which wanted connection, and which were often repeated with wearisome iteration. The Khowar songs were mostly of an amatory nature, seldom treating of warlike subjects, and gave evidence of a more cultivated of taste than those in Shina, while the musical nature of the language and the better rhythm of the verse entitled them to the first place in Dard poetry.[1]

Festivals : The people of Dardistan had embraced Islam much before the Sikh occupation of Gilgit and Astore. But, despite this general conversion, semi-religious festivals, mostly connected with agriculture, were observed by them more or less in accordance with ancient customs in the Dogra period as well. The festivals in Gilgit were called "Shine baradesi", or "Great days of the Shins", which would appear to show that they were mainly of Shin introductions. The dates of the festivals connected with ploughing, sowing, and reaping, differed slightly according to the proper seasons for those operations in different places.

The first festival was that of Nos, at the time of the winter solstice in celebration of the beginning of the new year, which, according to ancient computation, commenced then. The name Nos meant "fattening", and alluded to the slaughtering of cattle which took place. The first day was one of work, and was devoted in every house-hold to dressing and storing the carcases of bullocks, sheep, and goats slaughtered a few days previously. This was done by drying them in a particular way, so that they remained fit for food for several months. This was necessary because the pastures had become covered with snow, and only sufficient fodder was stored to keep a few animals alive through the winter. The next morning, two hours before day-light, the Taleni* celebration took place. Bonfires were lighted and everybody flocked to the Shawaran**, torch in hand. The drums sounded summoning all laggards, and as the first streaks of day-light appeared, the torches were thrown in the direction of Gilgit, or in that place were scattered about at pleasure. Singing, dancing, and polo went on throughout the day, and were continued at intervals daily for a whole month.

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[1] *Assessment Report, Astore*, 1896, pp. 19-20, JK, 25/H-32 of 1896; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, J and K State, p. 324; Major John Biddulph, pp. 85-87.

This festival was celebrated in Yasin, Punial, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Astore, and Gor. In Hunza and Nagar the bonfire portion was called Tum shelling, "tree-scattering", and in Astore, homi. It was said to commemorate the death of a ruler who once tyrannised over Gilgit, but there seems good reason for supposing that it was a relic of fire-worship. In Chitral the festival was celebrated under the name of Dushti, without the bonfires as also in Chilas and Dave, where it was called Daiko. In the villages of the tract of valley between Punial and Ghizar, where the population was almost entirely Shin, no language but Shina was allowed to be spoken on the day of the Nos festival, and a sort of demonstration was made against the neighbouring Kho and Woorshik communities. Each family made a bonfire of cedar wood on its own land, and a cry was raised, "today let all our enemies in the upper country remain above, and those in the lower country remain below. Let those who wear the 'Kuri' (the leather boots worn by the Kho people) perish, and let all who wear the 'taoti' (the leather leg-wrappings worn by the Shins) increase and prosper". Any man who spoke Khowar or Woorshiki in the village on that day was beaten and ill-treated.

*Taleni was the name given to a bundle of strips of wood bound together and used as a torch.

**Its meaning is not clear in the records.

The next festival was the Bazono, which celebrated the beginning of spring and the appearance of the first green shoots of corn. On the occasion of this festival the people assembled on the Shawaran, and a lean miserable sheep was brought. It must not be a good one. The Tarangfah sacrificed it, and the blood was sprinkled on every body's polo stick. The Tarangfah on horseback trundled the head along the ground for a short distance with his stick. Doms then tied a rope to the horns and dragged the head along the whole length of the ground, taking the carcase as their perquisite. Polo and dancing concluded the day. In Hunza and Nagar the ceremony of the sheep sacrifice was performed at the same time as the Thumer Bopow mentioned further on.

Bazono literally meant "leanness", referring to the miserable state of the cattle at the end of the winter. This festival was peculiar to Gilgit.

After the Bazono was a festival called Aiboi, which took place during the first week in March. This appears also to have been confined to Gilgit.

The evening before the festival a peculiar kind of plumcake, called 'Jutchbut', was baked and eaten in every house. The gates of the fort were closed, and all probable absentees, such as traders and travellers, were put under surveillance. The next morning a party was sent round by the Ra to bring every man in the place inside the fort. Some would make a pretence of hiding, but in time all were hunted out and brought in. The women of the place had meanwhile assembled and formed a double line from the inner castle to the outer gate of the fort, each being provided with a stout willow stick. When all was ready, the Ra rode out, as if to leave the fort. On arriving at the head of the line, a cry was raised for a present, which he promptly complied with and then rode on between the lines. All the men were then bound to follow him, one by one. The wazirs and members of the Ra's family were allowed to ransom themselves like the Ra, but the rest had to run the gauntlet and get through as best they might. The women plied their sticks with hearty good will, and unpopular members of society came off badly.

On the following day the men again assembled in the fort, and formed themselves into two parties, one under the Ra inside the castle, and the other under the wazir in the outer fort. Both sides were provided with wood-ashes and dust which had previously been collected for the occasion, and a sham fight ensued. The wazir's party tried to storm the castle, while the Ra's men showered earth and ashes on them. Sometimes the assailants were successful, and the Ra was made a prisoner in his own castle. After an hour or two he consented to pay a ransom, which was fixed at a bullock and three sheep for the victors, and a robe of honour for their leader. If, on the contrary, the wazirs party were defeated every man had to give a present to the Ra. The parts of both days not occupied in the performance were spent in feasting, polo, dancing, and consulting the Dainyals.

This curious festival, which was said to mark the time for pruning vines and the first budding of the apricot trees, was discontinued when the advent of Sikh troops introduced a stricter observance of Mohammedan forms*, and forced women to remain in greater seclusion. A trace of it existed in Punial even in the year 1880, where the women were privileged on that day to address abusive remarks, in jest, to the Ra when he first came out of his house. The whole festival appears to show some connection with that of the Holi, which takes place in India about the same time.

Next to the Aiboi came the Ganoni feast, which celebrated the commencement of the wheat harvest. The day having been fixed with reference to the state of the crop, the last hour of day-light for the preceding ten days was spent in dancing on the Shawaran. At dusk on the evening before the festival, a member of every house-hold gathered a handful of ears of corn. This was supposed to be done secretly. A few of the ears were hung over the door of the house, and the rest were roasted next morning and eaten steeped in milk. The day was passed in the usual rejoicings, and on the following day harvest operations were commenced. As some crops were always more forward than others, and ready to be reaped before the appointed day, no restriction was placed on their being cut ; but to eat of the grain before the Ganoni would provoke ill-luck and misfortune. In Chitral the festival was called Phindik. The tribes in the Indus valley below Sazin did not observe it.

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*The first Governor appointed under the Sikhs was a Mohammedan, Nathu Shah, who did much towards introducing a more orthodox type of the faith.

The next festival was the Domenika, "smoke-making", which celebrated the completion of the harvest. When the last crop of the autumn had been gathered, it was necessary to drive away evil spirits from the granaries. A kind of porridge called "mool" was eaten, and the head of the household took matchlock and fired it into the floor. Then, going outside, he set to work loading and firing till his powder horn was exhausted, all his neighbours being similarly employed. The next day was spent in the usual rejoicings, part of which consisted in firing at a sheep's head set up as a mark. In Chitral this festival was called Justundikaik, "devil driving".

The last festival in the year, and the most important of all, was the Chili, which formerly celebrated the worship of the Chili tree (Juniperus excelsa), and marked the commencement of wheat-sowing. In between 1820 and 1880 the rites connected with tree-worship had ceased, but the ceremonies connected with sowing were maintained even after this year. The feast now lasted two days, beginning on the first day of the sun entering the sign of the Scorpion. The first was called the Ra's day, the second the people's day. The evening before the first day a procession went to the Ra's granary, from which they received between twenty and thirty pounds of the best wheat, which was placed in a skin mixed with springs of the sacred Chili tree. A large bonfire of the sacred cedar wood was lighted, and the quantity of wheat to be used in the next day's sowing was held over the smoke. The rest was ground and made into a large cake about 2 feet in diameter, which was baked on the same fire and then placed in a secure place for the night, a man being specially placed on guard over it. The musicians had meanwhile been hard at work, and dancing was kept up by the firelight till a late hour. Next day the people having assembled on the Ra's land, the Ra rided out from his castle attended by all his family and retainers. Before him was borne in procession the large cake of leavened bread, on which wheat was heaped up, and a pomegranate, with a spring of cedar stuck in it, placed on the top. This was carried by a man with his face smeared with flour, who was called Dono. The crowd having gathered round the Ra in a ring, the Yerfah approached, holding two or three handfuls of the smoked wheat in the skirt of his robe, into which the Ra emptied a small quantity of gold-dust. Then with a loud voice the Yerfah cried out : "Oh people, be ready, the Ra has mixed the gold and will scatter the seed ; may your fortune be good" ! Then the Ra, taking the mixed wheat and gold, threw it among the people, who scrambled to catch it in their skirts. More wheat and gold-dust were then poured into the Yerfah's skirt and scattered, the ceremony being repeated four times, to the north, south, east, and west. Those to whom it had once been thrown were not allowed to shift their places so as to get more. Then a yoke of oxen was brought to the Ra, who took the plough handle and ploughed two furrows, eastwards and westwards, scattering seed ; he then returned to the castle, after making over the large cake to his ploughmen, whose perquisite it was. After this the Ratch Mooger, or, "the Ra's he-goat", was taken up to the tower of the castle and sacrificed by a Rono ; one of this caste alone being suffered to officiate. Cutting off the head and feet, the officiating Rono held them up in view of the assembled people, and all the drums struck up. The carcase of the goat was made over to those whose perquisite it was. In Gilgit it was the perquisite of the men of the village of Boormuss, who were Shins, and whose privilege it was to carry the Ra's standard in war, for which they received a goat a day while in the field. Then, while the people stood expectant, the Yoodeni durrung, "the fairy's drum", was heard to sound. All faces were averted to prevent the evil that would surely happen to him who should catch sight of the performer, and the Yoodeni-ai, or, "fairy's she-goat", was brought and sacrificed. Some of the blood was sprinkled on the fairy's drum, and the carcase was given to the Dom musicians, whose perquisite it was. This ended the ceremony, and the day was wound up with archery, dancing, singing and polo. The mark for the bowmen used to be a block of wood, with a small wedge of silver, given by the Ra, beaten into it, which became the prize of the most skilful marksman.

On the second, or people's day feasting and dancing went on almost the whole day. They visited one another's houses, being expected to eat something in each house. A few yards of ploughing were commenced as a matter of form by every land-holder, for without this a good crop could not be expected.

In Hunza and Nagar this festival was called Thumer Bopow, or, "The Thum's sowing", and was celebrated in exactly the same way, but it did not take place till spring owing to the difference of climate. A somewhat similar festival took place in Yasin and Chitral where it was called Binisik, "seed-sowing" ; but the ruler did not take part in it. In Yasin the festival was accompanied by a curious custom. The Tarangfah was mounted on a good horse and clad in a robe of honour given him by the Mehtar (ruler). In this way he was conducted to the polo ground, where all seated themselves while the music struck up and the Tarangfah galloped twice up and down the ground. Should any accident happen to him, such as either himself or his horse falling, it was regarded as a presage of misfortune to the whole community, and of speedy death to himself. In order to avert evil, he and his family observed the day as a solemn fast.

The ceremonial of the cedar worship in Gilgit was as follows :—

For three days previously, three chosen unmarried youths underwent daily washing and purification. On the fourth day they started for the mountain, provided with wine, oil, bread, and fruit of every kind. Having found a suitable tree they chose a branch, on which the wine and oil were sprinkled, while the bread and fruit were eaten as a sacrificial feast. The branch was then cut off and carried to the village. At its entrance the party were met by all the people in holiday attire and conducted to the appointed place with music and

rejoicings, where the branch of cedar was placed on a large stone by the side of running water. A goat was then sacrificed, its blood poured over the cedar branch, and a wild dance took place, in which weapons were brandished about, and the head of the slaughtered goat was borne aloft, after which it was set up as a mark for arrows and bullet-practice. Every good shot was rewarded with a ground full of wine and some of the flesh of the goat. When the flesh was finished, the bones were thrown into the stream, and a general ablution took place, after which every man went to his house taking with him a spray of the cedar. On arrival at his house he found the door shut in his face, and on his knocking for admission, his wife asked, "what have you brought" ? to which he answered, "if you want children, I have brought them to you ; if you want food, I have brought it ; if you want cattle, I have brought them ; whatever you want, I have it". The door was then opened and he entered with his cedar spray. The wife then took some of the leaves, and pouring wine and water on them placed them on the fire, and the rest were sprinkled with flour and suspended from the ceiling. She then sprinkled flour on her husband's head and shoulders, and addressed him thus :—
"Ai Shiri Bagerthum son of the fairies, you have come from far" ! Shiri Bagerthum, "the dreadful king", being the form of address to the cedar when praying for wants to be fulfilled. The next day the wife baked a number of cakes, and, taking them with her, drove the family goats to the Chili stone. When they were collected round the stone, she began to pelt them with pebbles, invoking the Chili at the same time. According to the direction in which the goats ran off omens were drawn as to the number and sex of the kids expected during the ensuing year. Walnuts and pomegranates were then placed on the Chili stone, the cakes were distributed and eaten, and the goats followed to pasture in whatever direction they showed a disposition to go. For five days afterwards this song was sung in all the houses :—

"Dread Fairy King, I sacrifice before you,
How nobly do you stand ! you have filled up my house,
You have brought me a wife when I had not one,

Instead of daughters you have given me sons,
You have shown me the ways of right,
You have given me many children,
You have made me like the mountain,
I have brought the family of the mountain tops,
I have gone to Sargin Gilit,
That I might see the people,
You slay many wild goats,
You with the gun on your shoulder,
Oh you with the sword in your hand !
Oh you riding upon a horse !
Oh you clothed in a fine robe !
Dread King, I will slay you a ram.
Oh you that have come from the mountain,
I will rub your feet with butter.
Oh you that have come from below,
I will anoint you with oil.
I have been to the wide plain,
They have slain you a fine he-goat,
A ram has been slain, I have honoured you today,
To-morrow you will depart.
Go, dread Fairy King, I salute you,
You have given me prosperity,
How shall I let you depart !"

The Chili stone was to be seen at the entrance of every Shin village even upto the year 1880.[1]

By 1935, however, all the festivals alluded to above but the Ganoni had disappeared. Curiously enough it had disappeared in Gilgit itself, though universal elsewhere, and it was perhaps the chief festival of the year.[2]

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[1] *Assessment Report of the Gilgit Tehsil* by Thakur Singh, Settlement Officer, Gilgit, Lahore 1971, hereafter quoted as *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 100-107.

[2] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 195.

Immigration

Gilgit : Several tribes from Yaghistan, Afghanistan, Chitral, Hazara Hunza, Nagar and the Punjab had come and settled in Gilgit.[1] The people of Hunza had migrated to and settled in Gilgit, because land in their own state was not sufficient enough to support the ever-increasing population. In Gilgit they were granted land by the Kashmir Darbar, with financial assistance for the construction of irrigation channels.[2] Some of the Yaghistanies had migrated to Gilgit and settled there. Others had fled from the country to escape the penalty attendant on family feuds so common among primitive and uncivilized people. Some had been driven by poverty and debt to come to Gilgit from Yaghistan. Some of them had succeeded even in acquiring land. These people were generally habitual criminals and constituted a scourge to the local inhabitants whose morals had also been affected by coming into contact with them.

From Afghanistan, Chitral and Hazara in the North-West Frontier Province had come Pathans, Shins and Yeshkuns. Their chief occupations were service, labour and trade. The Punjab had contributed some Hindus and Sikhs who were mainly engaged in trade.

From the Jammu province some Hindus had migrated on trade mission and some Gujjars had also settled in the area and followed their own calling.

A large number of Kashmiri Muslims from the province of Kashmir had gone to Gilgit for purposes of trade and settled there.

From Ladakh had come Baltis who were usually labourers or were employed in some sort of service. The postmen in Gilgit were generally of Balti tribe. The Baltis stayed there for a year or so and returned home after that period. Some of them had married local women and thereby acquired land. In Baltistan they were divided into separate tribes but here they were labelled as Yeshkun without distinction.[1]

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[1] AAR, 1904-05, p. 8 ; From First Assistant to the Resident, to Chief Minister to the Maharaja, No. 1379-G, September 13, 1909, JK, 212/A-25 of 1909 ; *Census Report of India, 1931*, J and K, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 100.

[2] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, p. 27 ; From First Assistant to the Resident to Chief Minister, No. 351, dated January 14, 1915, JK, 212/A-25 of 1909.

Trade in this part of the country held out bright prospects which had attracted immigrants of so many countries and parts of countries to settle in Gilgit.

The local inhabitants were generally landholders who did not take kindly to labour. There were no black-smiths, cobblers or carpenters in the country. Naturally therefore labourers from Baltistan, Hunza and Nagar and the artisans were hired into the place and returned home after making money.[2]

Besides, the people of Darel used yearly to bring their flocks of sheep and goats to graze in the nallahs of the Gilgit Wazarat. This migration of the Darelis to Gilgit was, however, of a very ephemeral nature, as the shepherds would return to their native land before the onset of every winter.[3]

Before Gilgit passed under the Dogra rule there were no roads. The paths led over mountains and were perilous to the extreme. Such a state of affairs interdicted immigration of the trading community though it did not present an insurmountable obstacle to agriculturists and pastoral people. After the establishment of the Dogra rule communications experienced a distinct improvement which led people to keep ponies for transport. And by 1931, some zamindars of Gilgit maintained even carts.

Were there no Burzil pass between Kashmir and Gilgit migration would have expanded but the pass remained closed for nearly six months of the year and permanently barred egress and ingress. Gilgit, however, did not offer unlimited possibilities for immigrants as the population was on the rise while the culturable land was limited and the produce insufficient.

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1. AAR, 1904-05 ; *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, J and K State, p. 100.

2. *Census of India, 1931*, Vol. XXIV, Part I, J and K State, p. 100.

3. AAR, Samvat 1973 (1916-17 A.D), p. 9.

Effects of Immigration : Immigration affected the customs of the people. The Yaghistanis were Sunnis while the people of Gilgit belonged to the Shia sect. Formerly the people of Gilgit observed no distinction between the Sunnis and the Shias and mutual matrimonial relations were frequent but the growing influx of Yaghistanis served to make the distinction pronounced and now such relations were rare.

Secondly, religious life of the people in the past was also simple but contact with outsiders encompassed a change in religious outlook and made the people take to Quranic tenets with greater zeal and fealty.

Thirdly, and lastly, formerly the local population was, as we have seen before, divided into castes and each caste was endogamous but this practice vanished as a result of observance of Mohammedan law.

Emigration : The people of Gilgit had no emigratory proclivities and did not go out for labour or service but they, during the Dogra regime, started sending boys to colleges at Srinagar and Aligarh, as will be seen further on, for prosecution of higher studies which made a change.

Migration to, and from, other parts of Dardistan

Hemmed in on all sides by high mountain passes the territories of Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, Kuh-Ghizar, Ishkaman etc ; seem to be intended by Nature to remain untouched by the problem of migration. Nevertheless inquisitiveness and search for livelihood made man penetrate into these isolated places also. There was a periodic flow of Gujjars from Yaghistan and Gilgit to the hill grazing grounds in the upper valleys of the mountain block that separated the two territories. This lasted for some four months in the year.

Besides Gujjars, Kaliwal from the Lower Indus Kohistan came to these Illaqas for trade or labour and effected a slight change in caste occupations by inducing a few of the locals to take up trade. The number affected was, however, well-nigh negligible albeit no doubt a beginning was made.

Similarly, traders from Wakhan, Kashgar, Yarkand, Baltistan, etc ; used to visit these territories with a view to selling goods from their respective countries. Chilas was visited by merchants from India who brought commodities by the Kaghan-Babusar route.

Emigration : From Hunza where the population was greater than the country could easily support, a few individuals came down to Gilgit in hunt of work, and at times went to India to seek employment, but the people in general were so dedicated to their homes that they preferred scarcity and want there to prosperity elsewhere.[1]

Ladakh

People : Ladakh was inhabited by four races of men, namely, Champas, Ladakhi, Balti and Dard, the first three belonged to the Tibetan race.

The first of the three subdivisions of Tibetans—the Champas—were those who led a nomadic life on the upland valleys, places which, being too elevated for cultivation to bring a living, were fit only for pastoral uses. The second, the Ladakhis, were those Tibetans who had settled in the valley, and in the side valleys, of the Indus, who had formed villages and had occupied nearly all the ground fit for cultivation ; and who still retained the Buddhist faith which was held by the Tibetans to the south-east and east. Thirdly, the Baltis were that branch of the Tibetan race, who, at one time identical with the Ladakhis, spread farther down the Indus valley and then became converted to the Mohammedan faith.

In general the Botis (Ladakhis) had short, squat, stout figures, with broad, flat, ugly faces ; but occasionally amongst the better classes could be seen both men and women who were well made and well featured, and with a fine rosy colour in their cheeks. Indeed, a few of the women were really comely, with good regular features and fine figures. But in general they were all, both men and women, not only ugly but grisly, and more especially the old women.[1]

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[1] Gilgit Diary for the week ending the 24th June, 1899, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, August 1899, Nos. 64-75 ; Gilgit Pol. Agency Official Diary for the week ending 8th January 1898, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1898, Nos. 343-364; Gilgit Agency Diary for the week ending the 23rd March, 1895, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, July 1895, Nos. 1052-1102.

The face of the Boti was broad, flat, and square, with high cheek-bones, large mouth, and narrow forehead. The nose was broad and flat, and generally much turned up, with wide nostrils, and with little or no bridge. The eyes were small and narrow, and the upper eyelids usually had a peculiar and angular form that was especially ugly. The eyes were nearly always black ; but brown, and even blue eyes, were seen occasionally. The inner corners were drawn downwards, by the tension of the skin over the large cheek-bones ; the eyelids were therefore not in one straight line, parallel to the mouth, as was the case with Europeans, but their lines met in a highly obtuse angle pointing downwards. This gave an appearance of obliquity to the eyes themselves that was very disagreeable. The ears were prominent, very large, and very thick. They had also particularly long lobes, and were altogether about one-half larger than those of Europeans. The hair was black, coarse, and thick and usually straight and crisp.

In stature the Ladakhis were short, several inches below the English middle height. Cunningham gave nearly 5 feet 2 inches as the height of the men and 4 feet 9.1/4 inches as that of the women.

Though not handsome, the Ladakhis were simple, unsophisticated and good-tempered ; they were not quarrelsome, unless it be when excited by their intoxicating drink, Chhang, and if over that they did get to wrangling or fighting, no bad blood remained afterwards ; they were truthful, carefree, gay, cheerful and sociable, the smallest excuse providing for a feast with laughter, dancing and singing, with an opportunity for drinking large quantities of Chhang, which resulted in general drunkenness. Births, marriages and even deaths were ordinary occasions for feasting and drinking, with singing and dancing girls always a part of the entertainment. Arthur

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[1] Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 295 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 238-39 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 540 ; *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Jammu 1908, p. 4 ; Douie, Sir James, *The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, pp. 320-21.

Neve said of them. "they are a contented cheerful race, neither quarrelsome nor revengeful, or rarely so under the influence of Chhang, a sort of barely beer. They are fairly honest and simple-minded, but conspicuously lacking in chastity and cleanliness. From simple and natural marriage customs they are debarred by the restricted nature of the country and by the intense cold in winter, from ablutions, which they also dispense with in summer by choice."

The only division of the Ladakhis—the only caste division—was that the blacksmiths and the musicians belonged to castes which were considered low.[1] A blacksmith was called Gara and a musician Mon[2] ; with these low caste people an ordinary Ladakhi did not intermarry.

The priesthood of Lamas did not make a caste, the office was not hereditary.

Champas : The Champas inhabited the higher country—the valley of the Indus above the villages, the other plains, or flat bottomed valleys, of Rupshu, and a few outlying places. There was no intermarriage between the Ladakhis and the Champas. The Champas were a most hardy and a most cheerful set of people. Living all their lives in a severely cold climate, and getting a scanty subsistence, they still had the best of spirits. When, after a day's journey, they collected round the scanty fire that was warming their evening meal, their merry laughter showed what a good heart they could keep in what, to strangers, seemed to be the hardest of circumstances. Their lives were spent in tents ; they stayed for a month or two at a time in one spot, to graze their flocks and herds, and then they moved with them whither the advancing season promised better pasture.

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[1] *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, Jammu, 1908, p. 4 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 296-97 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 239-40 ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, pp. 196-98 ; Moorcroft William and Trebeck George, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara*, hereafter quoted as Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, 1974, p. 321.

[2] *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, Jammu, 1908, p. 4.

The religion of the Ladakhis and the Champas was the same, but it lay light on the latter. Their youngmen did not become Lamas.[1]

Khambas : There were some families in Ladakh who came and went with the summer, and a very few who had settled, of a race called Khamba. They were of the country named Kham, far to the east of Lhasa. By what road they first came to Ladakh is not known but they by 1871 had reached the districts of Zanskar and Rupshu from, strange to say, the side of India. They were of Tibetan race, and their language, though different from that of the Ladakhi Champas, still could be understood by them. The Khamba were professional beggars, of a very vagrant disposition, they wandered about some part of India in the cold months, and found their way up Ladakh in the summer, subsisting by begging. It was queer that they went to such an indigent country as the higher parts of Ladakh for the exercise of their profession, but the Bhots, though poor, were charitable. These Khambas, too, gave themselves a religious air, as do most beggars in the East. But in truth, in their ways, they were more like to the gipsies than to devotees. They had their wives and children with them, and these all went round in succession to beg, as if independent of each other. They lived in the smallest of tents ; these were only just high enough for one to seat oneself on the floor beneath them. The tent and their other traps were carried on the backs of a few of the load-carrying goats which they always possessed. The Kashmir authorities . tried to persuade these Khambas to take to agriculture and land was given for this object by the Pangkong Lake.[2]

Baltis : The next colonizers to be mentioned were Baltis. There were Baltis inhabiting the valleys of Dras aud Suru, and the tract about Paskim, which was called Purik. These were not geographically separated from the main body of their countrymen in Baltistan; which district bordered on Dras ; but they had some slight differences. There was an isolated colony of Baltis right in the middle of the Bhot country, only a few miles from Leh. These immigrant Baltis had come from Purik and Skardu.[1]

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[1] Drew, Frederic, pp. 241-42 ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 188 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 540.

[2] Drew, Frederic, pp. 242-43.

Dards : These were found in Dras and in several places along the valley of the Dras River, and again in a few villages in the valley of the Indus, being there interpolated between the Baltis and the Ladakhis.[2] Some of these Dards had kept up old customs, including a special festival every two or three years, when they sang Dard songs. At Dras the Dard language was spoken.[3]

Arghuns and Gulamzadas : In the town of Leh[4], and in a few villages by it[5], were a good many families of half-castes, born of Bhot women, the fathers being merchants of different races who had frequented the market at that place. There had for long been a commercial connection between Leh and Kashmir, and families of Kashmiri merchants had settled in Leh. There had been a hybrid class brought into being by the intermarriage of these Kashmiris with women of the country, who had been ready to turn Mohammedan—or to any other religion—in order to marry. Again, the Turki merchants, from the direction of Yarkand, were responsible for another set of half-castes. These half-caste breeds were called "Arghuns" A third class had sprung into existence since the conquest of Ladakh by the Dogras, from the connection of Dogra sepoys with Ladakhi women. These were called Gulamzadas, that is to say, "slave-born".

The result of the crossing of breeds, in each of these three cases, cannot be said to be good. The half-castes were for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they were of worse character than either of the races they sprang from.[1]

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[1] *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1908, pp. 4; Drew, Frederic, p. 243.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 243 ; Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* 1912, p. 174.

[3] Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal,* 1912, p. 174

[4] Drew, Frederic, p. 244.

[5] *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1908, p. 4 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* 1974, p. 540.

Houses : The generality of the houses throughout Ladakh were so much alike that a description of one will serve for all. The houses usually consisted of two or three storeys and sometimes of four. The foundations and lower parts of the wall, were built of stone, the upper walls of large sun-dried bricks 20×10×6 inches. In the better houses some of the rooms were of considerable size, twenty-five feet long and eighteen broad ; but they were always very low, the highest not exceeding seven and a half or eight feet. The roofs of these large rooms were always supported by plain wooden pillars. The roof was formed of poplar spars five or six inches in diameter, peeled white, and laid only one to one and a half feet apart. The beams were covered in with small straight pieces of poplar branches about one inch in diameter, peeled white, and placed touching each other. Generally they were laid straight across the beams ; but sometimes at different angles, in the alternate intervals, so as to form a pattern like herring-leaves and a thick coat of well-beaten day. The floors were generally of earth, but the better sort were paved with small slit pebbles, about the size of turkey eggs, set in clay with the flat surfaces upwards. They formed a clean, hard, smooth, and lasting floor.

The principal room generally had a balcony towards either the south or the west, from ten to twenty feet in length, and usually about two feet and a half in width, where the family sat to enjoy the sun in the winter season. The doors were mere rough planks of wood, joined together by wooden tenons, and sometimes strengthened by cross bars fastened with wooden pins. Purdah or wadded curtains were also used as an additional means of excluding the cold wind ; but when the doors were shut, there was only a dim light admitted into these apartments through one or two loopholes, which were closed with small shutters at night. These were, thus, wretched habitations for the winter.

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[1] *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, Jammu 1908, p. 4 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 244-45 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 540.

The houses of the poorer classes were generally of two storeys : the lower storey being appropriated to their cattle. The roofs were much more coarsely made and the rooms were small and very low, being sometimes under six feet in height. In Ladakh proper, the upper storey was usually reached by a flight of earthen steps.[1]

Though the houses in Ladakh were low and dingy, their owners kept them reasonably clean and tidy, the lanes and streets were swept, and there was no litter or filth lying about.[2] And on the top of each house, there flew either a flag bearing the sacred prayer of the Buddhists, "Om Mani Padmi Om", or a yak's tail to guard against the evil spirits.[3]

Food and Drink : The food of the common people usually consisted of thick barely cakes, or of barely-meal moistened with water, with a broth of turnips, either fresh or dried, according to the season, to which were added a few peas, and a seasoning of salt and pepper. Meat was seldom tasted by the poorer classes except upon occasions of rejoicing at a birth or marriage. Tea was, formerly, consumed only by the upper classes. It was made in a strong decoction with soda, then seasoned with salt and churned with butter, until it acquired the colour and consistency of thick rich cocoa or chocolate. Wheaten cakes were eaten with it in the morning, either plain or with butter and sugar. The same meal was repeated in the middle of the day, with any fruits that might be in season, apples, grapes, and apricots, or with the last dried. In the evening they usually had rice, and a broth of turnips, or of sheep or goat mutton, for since the occupation of the country by the Hindu Dogras, Yak's flesh was no longer to be had in Northern Ladakh.

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1. Neve, E.F., *Things Seen in Kashmir*, 1931, p. 143 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 313-14 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 249 ; *Census of India—Kashmir*, Part I, 1911, p. 38 ; Norris, Dermot, *Kashmir : The Switzerland of India*, 1932, pp. 185-86 ; Gompertz, Maj. M.L.A., *Magic Ladakh*, 1928, pp. 149-151.

2. Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 198.

3. Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, 1912, p. 182 ; Knight, E.F., p. 149 ; Biscoe, C.E. Tyndale, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, 1922, p. 212 ; Chalmers, M.H., *A Walking Tour Through the Heart of the Himalayas and Middle Tibet*, 1929, p. 35.

All classes were exceedingly fond of spirituous liquors, albeit they had nothing better than their native Chhang. This was made from fermented barley and wheat flour, and had a most disagreeable sour smell, like that of bad beer, a thick appearance like dirty gruel. This was the usual beverage ; but it was sometimes distilled, by which process a clear spirit was obtained, something like whisky, but of a most villanous flavour.[1] The Ladakhis, however, had great fondness for this liquor. It was used in all their social ceremonies, religious observances, and offerings to their deities. The Ladakhis often used to remark that it was much easier for them to go without food than without Chhang. It is said that once Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir prohibited the drinking of liquor throughout his territory but he made the Ladakh Chhang an exception.[2] This indicates that the consumption of this beverage had become an essential item of the Ladakhi diet.

Dress and Ornaments : The men of Ladakh wore a thick, warm woollen cloak. When unused, it used to be white. But after use it always wore a grubby look, for the Ladakhis never washed their clothes. Coarse woollen or felt leggings were worn, secured by a greater wound spirally round from the ankle upwards. The headgear was either a quilted skullcap, or a sheepskin cap with the wool inside, and a large flap behind to protect the neck and ears. Those who could afford it, had fur caps of the same shape. Their boots were of felt, with soles of sheep or goat-skin, which were turned up all round and sewn to the felt. The upper part of the felt boot was open to the front, and was allowed to fall over. The Lamas had red boots, and the others mostly had theirs ornamented with small bits of coloured cloth in the front.

The Ladakhi women wore a black woollen jacket with a large striped woollen petticoat of many colours, generally green, blue, red and yellow, reaching below the mid-leg. Over all they wore a sheep skin with the wool inside, secured, or rather skewered, in front by a large iron or brass needle. The poorer classes had the outside of the skin plain, but those in better circumstances covered it with coarse woollen baize, either red, blue, green, or yellow, with a broad border always of a different colour. The upper classes covered this sheep-skin cloak either with brocade or with silk. Their heads were always bare, the hair being arranged in a border of narrow plaits, which hung round the head like a long fringe. From the forehead, over the division of the hair, they all wore a long narrow band of cloth studded with coarse many-flawed turquoises, which hung down behind as low as the waist, and was usually finished off with a tassel of wool or a bunch of cowrees. The ears were covered by semi-circular woollen lappets, fastened to the hair and edged with brown or black fur, generally of the other-skin, called Kunduz. These ear-flaps were always red, the inside being woollen, and the outside brocade. These were made coarse or fine according to circumstances, for the Ladakhi women prided themselves upon the style and material of these lappets.

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[1] *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahcmmed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, Jammu, 1908, p. 4 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 247 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 305-06 ; Moorcroft and Treback, Vol. I, pp. 328-331 ; JK 6/H-34 of 1901.

[2] JK 6/H-34 of 1901.

The dancing women wore similar dresses, but they sometimes also had long gowns, of different colours, instead of the jacket and petticoat. Their heads were always covered, either with a coloured and quilted skull-cap, or with a circular, flat-topped, stiff woollen hat, something like a short shako without a peak. These were ornamented with cornelians and turquoises. All classes of women wore, besides, a profusion of necklaces, made of cornelian, turquoises, or amber, and they had also massive ornaments of silver and brass, studded with turquoises. Both men and women wore in their waist-clothes or girdles a Chakmak (or leather case ornamented with brass, containing flint, steel, and tinder), and the men besides, usually carried a knife or dagger in their girdles. The women likewise carried a brass spoon, a convex brass mirror, and case of coarse needle attached to their girdles ; to these might be added a small metal or wooden cup or quaigh, a single or double flageolet, a metal spoon, and plate, all of which were stuffed into the slackened breast of the dress, next the skin, along with a ball of wool, a coil of rope, and a few unleavened wheaten or barley cakes.[1]

The Ladakhi women improved their complexions by a process called Shogolo. This consisted of smearing the cheeks and forehead with the juice and seeds of the ripe berry of the belladonna plant. Much pains were bestowed in arranging the bright yellow seeds effectively, and the result was that the face appeared sprinkled with grains of gold, and sparkled with a rich brightness.[2]

The dress of the Champas was almost the same as that of the other inhabitants of the country, only that some of them wore the long wide coat of lamb-skin, instead of woollen cloth.[3]

The Lamas or monks wore a cloak and shawl of dirty wine colour ; they belonged to what was known as the red sect ; their shaven heads were covered with red longish shaped hats with ear flaps.[4]

Language : The Ladakhis spoke the Tibetan language. It was called Bhotia, the language of the Bhots, in Kashmir.[5]

Amusements : Dancing was a favourite amusement of the Ladakhis, with both men and women, but the performances were in separate bodies. Singing was also one of their recreations, and was remarkable rather for vociferation than melody. And a very favourite diversion was that of Polo.[6]

Migration : The Ladakhis were not accustomed to migration to any appreciable extent. In summer a number of European visitors and the Punjab and Yarkand traders used

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1. Drew, Frederic, pp. 240-41 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 541 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 303-04 ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 322-28 ; Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, 1912, p. 183.

2. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 328 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 542.

3. Drew, Frederic, p. 242.

4. Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 199.

5. *A Handbook of the Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1947, p. 13.

6. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 345 ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 198.

to go to Ladakh and provide the locals with enough labour which rendered emigration unnecessary. In the winter the Zojila pass would block the path with snow and make exodus impossible. Further, the Buddhist custom of inheritance of property by the eldest son and his consequent responsibility for supporting the family coupled with their instinctive contentment acted as a bar on emigration. It may be said that the Buddhists in Ladakh practised both polygamy and polyandry which checked any abnormal increase in population and enabled the people to live contentedly with the limited means of subsistence available.[1]

Immigration : We have seen that Ladakh being an Alpine country remained insulated from the rest of the world during the winter months. The journey from Kashmir to Ladakh occupied a number of days. The room for migration to this country was, therefore, limited. Ladakh had, however, ties of religion and trade with Tibet, China and Turkestan dating from ancient times and a couple of families of enterprising Punjabis had settled there and some also migrated to the country periodically for purposes of trade as Ladakh was the emporium of Central Asian trade.

In 1931 the total number of Indian immigrants was 133. Out of this number 38 were females pointing to the hardships of travel in those parts which made the immigrants loath to take their families with them. Out of these 127 were Punjabis while 6 persons were residents of U.P., of Agra and Oudh.[2]

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[1] *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 99.

[2] *Ibid.*

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Marriage, Customs and Folklore

Dardistan

Marriage Ceremonies : The marriage customs of most parts of Dardistan varied little, consequently the following description applies generally to most districts of the country.[1] Marriage was the occasion for much ceremony. Though the young people often arranged a marriage between themselves, it was more usual for the match to be arranged by the parents. After determining by private negotiation the conditions of the match, the bridegroom's father proceeded to make a formal proposal. Dressed in his gayest clothes, and accompanied by his friend, he visited the bride's family, who were assembled to meet him, taking with him certain presents, such as a cow, a bullock or sheep, beads, clothes, and a sword or gun. The formal demand for the bride having been made and assented to, an interchange of presents took place. In Chitral the bride had a bracelet of beads placed on her arm by the bridegroom's father. In Gilgit, Cedar branches were burnt, and the bride's parents were presented with a knife, a rope, a few yards of cloth, and a leather bag for holding grain, the bridegroom's father received in return some wool and a ground. In some places it was not etiquette for the bridegroom to be present. The betrothal being completed, the marriage might not follow for some time, but it generally took place within the following year. For convenience marriages generally took place in January and February. There was then no agricultural work to occupy the men, and the houses were well stored with meat. So firmly established was the custom in Nagar, that a heavy fine was inflicted on marriages held at any other season.[1]

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[1] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 198.

The fixing of the day for the marriage now rested with the bridegroom's parents. After giving private notice, a smartly-dressed friend of the bridegroom was sent to announce formally that he would arrive on a certain day to claim his bride. Certain prescribed presents were interchanged on the occasion. On the appointed day the bridegroom, surrounded by his friends and equipped with bow, arrows, and battle axe, set out for the bride's house. The bride remained in the inner apartments, dressed in her gayest clothes with a fillet of cowrie shells bound on her head. This decoration was said to have been introduced by the Shins, and was obligatory among them. On entering the house branches of cedar were burned in an iron dish and waved about over the bridegroom's head, and the party was sprinkled with flour. All being seated, a large platter full of bread was presented to the bridegroom, who distributed it to all the company, after which he placed his gun or sword on the platter and it became the perquisite of the dish-bearer. In Gilgit two of the bride's and two of the bridegroom's friends were seated face to face, and a cake of bread was passed across ; each of the bride's friends broke off a piece, which was left in the dish, and the bridegroom's men placed their turbans or caps in it as a token that their heads were at the bride's disposal. The dish was carried in to the bride, who sent back the turbans. In earlier days the eating of bread together, at this stage, by the bride and bridegroom, was considered to complete the marriage. The idea was that, whoever managed first to eat a morsel would have the mastery in wedded life, and this always caused a scramble. At every stage a prescribed interchange of presents, which had all been carefully stipulated for before-hand, took place. Meanwhile the friends of both families had been spending the day outside the house in singing and dancing, and this was kept up all night also. The price of the bride, and the presents agreed upon, having been made over to her family, the Moollah appeared and read the marriage service according to the Sharyat. In Chitral the bridegroom then started for his home with his bride. In Gilgit the two still remained apart, and the next day the "Kalak Malak", which was peculiar to Gilgit, took place. This constituted the ratification of the marriage, and was the assessment of all the presents given from first to last. Two friends of each side met and appraised all the presents given by the bridegroom. Three tolas of gold-dust represented the price of the bride herself. Her father then produced large cooking pot, a bed, jewels, clothes, dishes, and other articles needful for setting up house. The bride was summoned and allowed to select any two of the articles, which were given with her free. The assessors then priced the rest, not forgetting to value the presents given and received since the betrothal, and the price of the balance was paid over at once by the bridegroom or his father.

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[1] *Ibid* ; Major John Biddulph, p. 78.

All being satisfactorily settled, preparations were made for bringing out the bride. The bridegroom and his friends stood round the door, and everybody was sprinkled with flour. In Chitral the bride was led out by her mother, who stood her over to the bridegroom, receiving a present in exchange. In Gilgit the women of the bride's family followed the party, assailing the bridegroom with abuse and pelting him with mud and filth, feigning anger. After going a mile in this way, the bridegroom gave a present to the bride's mother, and was then allowed to depart in peace. This was no doubt a relic of the practice of marriage by capture. Sometimes on leaving the house a goat was slaughtered in front of the couple. The flour-sprinkling was practised everywhere and at different stages. In Gilgit it was called Doobun.

After a few days it was customary for the bride's parents to visit the newly married couple, when they were received with flour-sprinkling, which was repeated on the first occasion of the bride revisiting her father's house. In some places it was customary for the couple to go and stay for several months with the bride's parents soon after marriage.

Though the young people often arranged a marriage among themselves before asking the consent of their parents, they were not allowed to meet after it had been agreed upon. If they met out of doors by accident, decorum demanded that they should pass with averted eyes and without speaking.

In Gor, rings were exchanged at marriage. In the ruling families of Hunza and Nagar, it was the custom, when a daughter was married, for the bridegroom to present her at betrothal with a gold and silver needle. In Yasin, when, as not unfrequently happened, the bridegroom was too poor to pay the required price, the young couple would elope with the consent of the bride's parents. At the end of ten days the bridegroom would come to them and ask forgiveness, promising to pay the required sum by degrees. A little scene was acted, forgiveness was granted, the neighbours were summoned to the feast which had been already prepared, and the wedding was celebrated. This was to save the credit of the bride's family in not having received a sufficient price for her.[1] And in Astore, when the bridegroom was unable to give any presents to his bride before and at the time of marriage, it was a must for him to work for his father-in-law in his fields, and pay for his bride in this manner.[2] When a member of a Chief's family was married, each house in the district contributed towards its expenses. And a bridegroom had, at the time of his marriage, to pay marriage fee to the Chief.

The old marriage barriers between the castes had, by 1935, practically disappeared under the levelling influence of Islam.[3]

Position of Women : A woman had sole authority in household matters. She did all the work in the house and when it was finished helped in the fields. In some districts she also fetched fuel from the jungle.

Polygamy was practised but the status of the first wife was considerably lowered by the arrival of a second, as this was usually caused by her own incompetence in household matters or to greater attractiveness on the part of her rival.[1]

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[1] *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, pp. 325-26 ; *Assessment Report, Astore*, 1896, JK 25/H-32 of 1896, pp. 21-23 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 78-81 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 198-200.

[2] *Assessment Report, Astore*, 1896, JK 25/H-32 of 1896, p. 23.

[3] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 200 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 81.

In the district of Punial, if a man took another woman to wife, he was required by custom to give a bullock to the dad of his first wife, for it was looked upon as an insult to the first wife's people if a present was not given.

And in Yasin if a man married a second wife he gave his first wife's father a gun, a horse and an ox, which was more than was given elsewhere. As has been explained the object of these gifts was to make it clear that no disrespect was implied in taking a second spouse.[2]

The marriage of very young children was not common, though occasionally practised. Girls were generally married between the ages of ten and fourteen. Wives were regarded as the absolute property of the husband and his heirs. On a man's death his brother could claim to marry all his widows, and no widow could marry again without the consent of her husband's brothers. Frequently, if a man left several widows as well as several brothers, the latter apportioned the former among themselves. So strictly was the rule observed that, should there be only one surviving brother and he an infant, the widow could not remarry elsewhere till he was old enough to say whether he would marry her or not. On the other hand, it was considered disgraceful to refuse to marry a brother's widow, so that it was not uncommon for a boy of ten years old to marry a woman more than twice his age. So absolute was the custom, that a woman could not refuse to marry her deceased husband's brother, and her own parents had no voice in the matter. This often led to two sisters being wives to the same man simultaneously, though the practice was forbidden by Mohammedan law. In Chitral, marriage with a husband's brother, though common, was not compulsory on the women. Among the Shin caste the marriage of first cousins or other relations within that degree (such as uncle and niece) was strictly prohibited, though allowed by Mohammedan law.

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1. *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 325.
2. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 200-01.

In the Shina and Boorishki languages, uncles on the father's side were styled "great father" or "little father", according to their age in comparison with that of the speaker's father; but there was a distinct term for an uncle on the mother's side. In the same way the term "aunt" was only applied to those on the father's side, the mother's sisters being all styled "mother". There was no specific term either for nephew and niece, who were styled "son" and "daughter". In the same way cousins were styled "brother" or "sister". In the Khowar language the term "uncle" was applied to the brothers of both father and mother without distinction, but aunts on the mother's side were styled "mother".[1]

A pregnant woman was given no special diet and the delivery was assisted by any old woman who might be selected to help. After the third day the mother's clothes were washed and on the 10th day she, herself, took a bath and was considered clean again.

The babe was washed in hot water immediately after birth and a man called "Azan" first in the right ear and then in the left—if the child was male,[2] it was a matter of general rejoicings. The friends of the happy father at once made it an excuse to stop work for the day, and seizing their matchlocks maintained a fusillade till their powder flasks were empty. The village band was summoned, and dancing kept up round the door for the rest of the day.[3] The firers were given a goat; alms were given soon after birth and again three days later. No ceremonies were performed when the son reached puberty.[4] No notice was taken of the birth of daughters.[5]

Divorce was allowed in cases where the woman was unable to manage the household affairs or was of bad habits. Rarely a divorce took place where the husband found it impossible

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1. Major John Biddulph, pp. 76-77.
2. *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 325.
3. *Ibid*; Also Major John Biddulph, p. 81.
4. *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 325.
5. Major John Biddulph, p. 81.

for him to cope with his wife. Divorced persons were permitted to remarry.[1]

In the earlier period cases of infidelity were extremely common, and the men showed none of the jealousy of their wives usual in Mohammedan communities. In cases of adultery the injured husband had the right to slay the guilty couple when he found them together ; if he delayed he lost his right. The reason for this was clearly to prevent any bargaining, with the threat of killing the offender if he did not agree. If the woman and her paramour were able to reach the Chief they were safe and no harm could come to them, but they remained in a sort of domestic slavery to the ruler for the rest of their lives. On the other hand, if they could give both to the Raja or Mir and to the aggrieved husband an amount in cattle double that which the husband gave on his marriage the matter was ended, and the woman went to her new home. In Punial, however, the marriage tie was so lightly regarded that only a small fine was exacted from the abductor.[2] In Hunza morals were more lax than in other parts of Dardistan. Here infidelity was not regarded as an offence, and custom required that a man should place his wife at his guests' disposal. In Nagar things were but slightly better, and a man considered himself highly honoured if his wife attracted the attention of the Thum. And even upto 1880 Islam had not encompassed the seclusion of the women, who mixed freely with the men on all occasions. Young men and maidens of different families ate and conversed together without restraint, and great liberty was allowed to young women, with frequent evil results. Infanticide arising from illicit connections was common and was not considered a crime.[3]

But, as said before, this intense laxity of morals obtained only during the early times ; towards the end of the period of our study things had greatly improved and the cases of adultery and other amoral acts were not very common.[1]

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[1] *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 325.

[2] Major John Biddulph, p. 77 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 204.

[3] Major John Biddulph, p. 77.

Customs and Folklore : When a man died, his face was kept to the west, the head to the north and legs to the south. Both the hands generally were straight. In some parts of Hunza the right hand was placed under the cheek.[2] When a death occurred food was not cooked in that house for three days and cooked food was sent by relatives for that period. On the third, seventh and fortieth day alms were given to avert calamities, also on the first anniversary after the death.[3]

The dead were disposed of by interment. A small flat slab of earth about two feet long was neatly plastered over the graves, and a light was kept burning at night by newly-made graves, under the pretence of keeping away wild beasts till the earth had hardened ; but this was more probably a relic of the old practice of cremation. No attention or care was paid to old graves, which constantly presented a most unpleasant appearance, owing to the falling-in of the arched roof. In Darel and Tangir a piece of roughly-carved wood was placed at each end of the grave, which was neatly plastered over, and small pieces of wood, which were about 8 feet apart. In Chitral, instead of wood, flat pieces of stone or slate, 3 or 4 feet long, were used.[4]

The ultimate abode of the righteous man was a land of comfort and good things. What he had desired in life he got in abundance after death.

For the bad man was a place of terror and misery. All kinds of tortures awaited him there ; from fire, from insects, from knives. Toads and snakes abounded and there he remained until pardoned by God.[5]

A very singular custom existed in Darel, Tangir, Gor,

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1. *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 32 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 204.
2. *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 323.
3. *Ibid*, p. 326.
4. Major John Biddulph, pp. 81-82.
5. *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 323.

Chilas etc ; by which the sexes were kept strictly apart during the summer, [from May till September. The custom was apparently very ancient, and any attempt to evade it was punished by fine ; the old women of the family being specially charged with the responsibility of seeing that the rule was observed.[1]

There was another custom which existed in all the districts. It was known as Koba, and was observed when a Chief or his son visited another. A bullock was brought to the visitor on arrival at [the polo-ground and he or one of his attendants was expected to cut off the head with a blow of his sword. With the passage of time, however, this custom fell into disuse. And in 1935 the only ceremony observed on such an occasion was that a mark was put up and both riders fired at it, but even this showed signs of disappearing.[2]

The people in Dardistan lived almost entirely by agriculture. All that concerns the division and inheritance of land was naturally of great consequence among them. In Gilgit, and the adjacent valleys, on a man's death his land was not divided equally among his sons, as was prescribed in the Sharyat, but in equal portions between his wives' families ; for instance, should a man leave one son by one wife and three by another, the one son inherited half-land, and the other three the other half, which again was sub-divided between them. Should one wife have sons, and the other only daughters, the land was divided among the former, the daughters being only entitled to a marriage-portion out of the land. Should a man die leaving only daughters, the land went to the nearest male heir of the deceased ; but a curious exception was made in the case of a man leaving only a single daughter, who was allowed to take the whole land as her marriage-portion. The practice was always spoken of as a favour, and not a right. In Chitral, the law of the Sharyat, by which all sons had equal shares was followed. Daughters were entitled to a dowry out of the paternal land on marriage.

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1. Major John Biddulph, p. 18.
2. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 194.

The custom of foster relationship was maintained among all the ruling families, and its ties seem more stringent than those of blood kinship. On the occasion of a son or daughter being born, the child was assigned to a foster-mother, in whose house it was brought up, so that frequently the father did not see his children till they were six or seven years old, and the whole family of the nurse placed themselves at the disposal of their foster-child, with whom, for the rest of their lives, their fortunes were unalterably bound up. Whatever were a man's misfortune or crimes in after-life, his good and bad fortunes were equally shared. Should exile be his lot, his foster kindred accompanied him. On the other hand, if he rose to influence, his foster-father was generally his most confidential, and his foster-brothers were employed on the most important missions.[1]

Orginally the object of fostering a child was to ensure its safety. There was less likelihood of its being killed than if it remained in the palace and, when it grew up, its foster parents and all their relations formed a party to support their foster child's interests. If his father were the Mir, then they hoped that the child in their care would succeed his father, and they did their best to bring about this happy upshot, sometimes with lamentable results to the peace of the State. In any case when the child was due to return to its parents the foster parents sent it to them accompanied by a present of money, often a large sum, and with clothes and other gifts. This resulted in their impoverishment and suffering to their own offsprings. This system of fostering children was, in fact, a thoroughly bad one ; it caused more bitterness, intrigue and friction than anything else in the land. It had become an instrument of oppression to the foster-parents. It was forbidden by the British authorities but the ban was a dead letter. Marriage between foster relations was regarded as incestuous.[2]

The custom of cementing friendship by the milk connection was a favourite one. Should a woman dream that she had adopted any person as a son, or should any man dream that he had been adopted by a certain woman, the connection was carried out in the same way as the forced adoption before mentioned, and nobody would think of refusing to recognise it. Milk from a woman's breast was esteemed a sovereign remedy for cataract and other eye-diseases. A resort to it also established the milk-tie for ever afterwards.[1] Should a man suspect his wife of infidelity he was perfectly satisfied if the suspected individual placed his lips to his wife's breast. Milk needed not be actually taken from the breast, but mere application of the lips constituted relationship.[2]

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[1] Major John Biddulph, pp. 82-83 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 190.

[2] Col. C.R.F. Schomberg, p. 191.

It was sometimes customary for a young couple, at the time of marriage, to induce a mutual friend to become their foster father. The tie was ratified at the time of eat ing bread together. Bride and bridegroom being seated opposite to one another, the foster-father elected seats himself between them, and taking a piece of bread in each hand crossed his arms, observing to keep the right one uppermost, and put the bread into their mouths. From that time he was regarded as their father.

The formation of these ties was practised in a peculiar way among the Ashimadek clans of Chitral. It was customary for every infant to be suckled in turn by every nursing mother of the clan ; consequently there was a constant interchange of infants going on among the mothers, for the purpose of strengthening tribal unity.[3]

A curious custom was chop. When a woman gave birth to a child an ibex horn was roasted in the fire, ground on a stone with water, and the paste applied to her face. Then, when a woman after her delivery went out, there was no danger of her catching cold, and the mixture thus applied informed the world that a happy event had taken place.[4]

The Shins were noted for their miserly habits, which they

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1. *Assessment Report, Astore,* 1896, JK 25/H-32 of 1896 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 82.
2. *Assessment Report, Astore,* 1896, JK 25/H-32 of 1896, p. 10.
3. Major John Biddulph, p. 83.
4. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 190.

sometimes carried to great extremes. Every man had a secret hiding place in the mountains, where he concealed his money, metal pots, wife's jewels, and all his most valuable property. Occasional stealthy visits were paid to the treasure, which was never taken out for use except on festive occasions. No feeling of honour seems to have existed as to the appropriation of another's treasure should it by chance be discovered, and frequent quarrels arose from this cause. Treasures were frequently lost altogether by the sudden death of the owner, before he had had time to confide the secret of their hiding place to his son. The practice was entirely confined to the Shins, who had many legends of lost treasures which had fallen under the guardianship of demons.

In both Chilas and Darel, a practice existed of storing clarified butter in cellars for a great number of years. It turned deep red and was kept for more than a hundred years, when it was much prized. A tree was sometimes planted over the cellar to ensure its not being disturbed, and wealth was computed by the amount of butter stored up.

Wine, which at one time was universally drunk, was also placed in flagged underground cellars to ripen in large earthen jars, but was never kept more than a year. The drinking of wine had much diminished under Islam, and where still practised was concealed as much as possible, except in Hunza and Punial, where public jollifications were not uncommon. The Maulai sect made no secret of the practice.[1]

The sun was considered to be masculine and to be composed of fire : the moon feminine, and made of glass. The markings on the moon were accounted for as follows in Hunza and Punial :—

A small girl went out one night to fetch water for her mother and saw the moon descending from the sky. Fearing that she would be carried away, she clutched a small tree but in spite of this precaution both she and the tree were swept up to the moon where they can still be seen. In the rest of Dardistan the tree was omitted.

[1] Major John Biddulph, pp. 83-84.

In an eclipse a large dragon swallows the sun or moon. Fortunately it has a slit in its throat so their eventual emergence from this is assured. Nevertheless to hasten matters drums were beaten and great deal of noise was made.

The stars were thought to be basket shaped, to have no light of their own and to smell badly. The reason for this seems to be that a falling star (meteor) crashed into a field once long ago and had all these characteristics.

There were no specific names for any of the constellations.[1]

Earthquakes were caused as follows :—

The theory more general was that a bull stands on the water supporting the earth on one of his horns. When he itches he moves his body a little causing the earth to shake.

In certain parts of Hunza the theory was that at the centre of the earth a great bull stands and supports the ground on his immense horns. Should anyone sin greatly the bull shakes his head in remonstrance and the earth rocks.*[2]

The rainbow was supposed to be an animal which inhabits the clouds. Sometimes he comes down to drink water from a river, and the water he drinks was supposed to come out again at the other end.[3]

The west and south were always spoken of as up, and the north and east as down. A man going west or south to a place talked of going up to it. Fairies and demons that lived in caves among the mountains or in desert places, had a prominent place in the belief of the Dards. Madness was supposed to be caused by a demon casting its shadow over a person, while the shadow of a fairy conferred the gift of prophecy. Demons assumed the appearance of human beings to lure men to destruction, but they were recognisable by their feet being turned backwards. The advent of the English and the introduction of fire-arms had gone a long way, in the opinion of the Dards, to thin the spirit population of the area, but there were still a great number left to annoy the people.

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[1] *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 323.

* The theory with regard to the causation of the earth-quakes held in certain parts of Hunza was also entertained and is still entertained by people of certain parts of the present Jammu and Kashmir State.

[2] *Assessment Report, Astore*, 1896, p. 30, JK 25/H-32 of 1896; *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 323.

[3] *Census of India*, 1931, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, p. 323.

In Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar the ruler's family was supposed to be specially under the protection of a guardian fairy called Yoodeni. A drum, called the Yoodenidrum, was always kept on the top of the ruler's castle. When it was heard to sound at certain festivals and at critical times it presaged good fortune. Nobody must try to see the Yoodeni, or look in that direction when the drum was heard ; if he did so, some evil was certain to befall the daring individual, the least he could expect was that his head would be twisted round to his back, and remain so for the rest of his life. A warlike expedition without the sounding of the Yoodeni drum would certainly end in disaster.[1]

Under the Moslem influence the fairies were christened jinns. There were two in particular, Yetch and Rui, known in Hunza and Nagar as Phut and Billass. Phut or Yetch was the male, and Billass or Rui the female deity or fairy. The upper classes smiled condescendingly when asked about these beings, but the lower classes were still devout believers in them.[2]

Phut only appeared when the corn was being stored in the bins for the winter, and he then began stealing. To avoid this, some flour was put with water in a large pot and well stirred. Some bitter apricot kernels were ground up with salt and pepper and were then placed in the middle of the mixture, the whole of which was known as Phuto-mal or Phut's stirabout ; this was placed on the edge of the threshing floor. Phut came and ate it : the corn was hastily garnered up and carried away whilst the pot was attracting the attention of the visitor. If this was not done the fairy would take away the grain from one side of the heap whilst the farmer was carrying it away on the other. This belief was current throughout Dardistan.

Punial was said to be famous for its vampires. By day they were harmless creatures with wives and families but by night they were transformed. They then had long sharp teeth and huge mouths ; they lurked behind bushes and tore to pieces any traveller who came near them. These were known as dains.[1]

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[1] *Assessment Report, Astore,* 1896, p. 28, JK 25/H-32 of 1896 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 94-95.

[2] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 206-07.

Magic had a prominent place in Dard ideas. Written charms were in great request, and every person wore one or more suspended to different parts of the dress by circular brass buckles. Those most in demand were charms conferring invulnerability and courage on the wearer. Charms were also attached to the mane and forelock of favourite horses.[2] Certain springs were supposed to have the power of causing tempests if anything impure, such as a cowskin, was placed in them.[3]

It was only in Hunza that the Mir was believed to have the power of producing rain, and if water was needed all went to beseech him to produce it. A mullah was ordered to sit for one or two hours up to his neck in water ; sometimes he might escape this ordeal, in which case he only tied an amulet to the trees, and prayed. To guard against too much rain every village of Guhjal (that is of the Wakhi part of Hunza) gave ten seers of ghi annually to the Mir. In Hunza proper, if too much rain fell ten or twelve mullahs collected in a mosque or in graveyard (if the mosque be too small or too hot). The Zamindars collected a heap of wood, the mullahs read the Koran and then set the wood afire. Flints were then collected from the river, the Ouho-Allah was read one hundred times, the stones were breathed on by the mullahs and then flung back into the river.

In 1933 water was sorely needed by the villagers of Hindi. They entreated the Mir to arrange for rain, and sent him an offering of three sheep. His son Ghazan Khan was given two, and his son Jamal Khan received one. The result was most gratifying. Rain came in quantities [and very unexpected of course.[4]

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1. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 208-09.
2. *Assessment Report, Astore*, p. 27 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 93.
3. *Assessment Report, Astore*, p. 28 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 209; Major John Biddulph, p. 95.
4. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 134-35.

Divination was practised in spite of the conversion of the country to Mohammedanism. The Dainyals, or diviners, who were of both sexes but were more frequently women, were supposed to receive the gift of second sight by the shadow of a Barai, or fairy, having fallen on them in sleep. Dainyals were said to be only found among the shepherd population. Quite young people became Dainyals, and the spirit of prophecy was supposed to remain with them for life.

The first intimation of the gift to the friends of the recipient was conveyed by their finding him or her in a deep trance. The requisite music was brought, flageolets being substituted for the ordinary clarionets, and softly modulated airs were played close to the ear of the entranced. Gradually he moved and began to show signs of life, on which a goat was brought and decapitated, and the bleeding neck presented to the Dainyal novice. This was the test of a true Dainyal. If the gift of divination had really come to him, he would seize the bleeding neck, and suck the blood. Some found this too much for them, and refusing to suck the blood were looked on afterwards as only feebly gifted with the spirit of prophecy. The idea of imposture never seems to be nursed by these guileless people. The recognised Dainyals were consulted on all special occasions, such as the yearly festivals in summer, or the declaration of war with a neighbouring state. The spirit of divination was supposed to lie latent in winter, and to be strong in proportion to the heat of the weather.

During the ceremony the witches attempted, occasionally, to rush out of the circle, but were thrust back by the spectators, the idea being that they were forced to prophecy against their will. Occasionally, too, they affected to become excited by the sight of certain persons, bright colours, dogs etc ; and rushed at and tried to tear them, but were repelled by the spectators, and so were forced to content themselves with hurling stones at the object of aversion.[1]

The following was the Astori version of the creation of the world :—

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[1] *Assessment Report, Astore*, 1896, pp. 27-28, JK, 25/H-32 of 1896 ; Major John Biddulph, pp, 96-98 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 209-212.

What was now the earth, was originally a huge expanse of water. The only land was the two huge peaks of "Mellkamook" and "Kohitoor", which the spirits who peopled the water thought were uninhabited. The spirits who brooded over the surface of the water whispered to those who dwelt below, that there was to be a world. The submarine spirits agreed to the desirability of the same, and met in solemn conclave for the purpose of creating the world. By far the cleverest and most learned of the water spirits was a feminine existence, her age was unknown, and her experience unbounded. To her the spirits applied for a means whereby the earth might be created. To their entreaty she vouchsafed the following solution. "I, who am old, know, that "on the summit of the mighty Mellkamook dwelleth a mighty animal, in shape "like a fierce tiger but having no tail (as is the way of animals) his name is "Bujarishal". Just below the summit of Mellkamook he sleepeth. If anyone "hath the temerity to disturb him, let him go, for Bujarishal will teach him "how a world may be made". So spoke the old feminine spirit. Great discussion then followed among the water spirits as to who should go, and finally Rozi or Dowlat, which is the spirit which is in the "wealth" of the world, and is one of the mightiest of the spirits, rose up, and said that he would go and call on Bujarishal. At his calling Bujarishal awoke and questioned, who he was, then said Dowlat "I am the spirit of wealth and let I am come to ask of thee how the world may be found". But Bujarishal gave the answer, for said he is "how is there any confidence in wealth!" So Daulat returned to the conclave of spirits and told them what Bujarishal had said. Then arose "Bherosa" the spirit of "confidence" and faith, and said that he would go, and going he called on Bujarishal saying "how can the world be made"? Then when the great animal knew that he spoke with the spirit which is "confidence" he answered fully in this wise saying. "On the other mountain peak even Kohitoor dwelleth an enormous bird who goeth by the name of the "Gurfurshing". He knows that his hour is at hand and will come to your bidding, and with his outspread wings will make a foundation for the world you require". Then Yeshullo Hall Singh who is the chief of all the spirits who dwelt beneath the waters collected his subjects and they built an enormous pillar which rested on the bottom of the oceans, and when the pillar was of sufficient height the great bird Gurfurshing, was as the whole world for size, came and rested on the pillar and there stretching out his wide wings, he died. Then the marvellous wind which even to this day sometimes visits this world, even the "War wool lookpul" blew gently over the surface, vivifying all as it went and lot the solid earth we dwell on, was born. The Great God who is above all spirits both of water, air and land looked out and saw the world had been made and that the trees grew and that the harvests ripened, but that there was no man to enjoy it. God from himself then made one man and one woman. The name of the man was Adam and the name of the woman was Ḥowa. To these two were born seven sons and seven daughters. The order of birth was first a son and then a daughter and so on until seven of each were born. When they were of sufficient age Adam, by God's decree, took each of these couples as they grew up, and having married them, sent them adrift in the jungles and nalas which surrounded the village that Adam himself had made.

So Adam and Howa dwelt alone. After many years had passed, when Adam had grown an old man, one morning he awoke and found the door of his hut darkened by the shadow of a strange man.

He asked him who he was. The strange man replied "I am called Shin (This shows the Shin origin of the legend). The next morning when Adam awoke he found another strange man looking at him, and putting the same question to him he said "I am a Hindu" and so the nations came, each in their turn and the world was made.[1]

The legend of Astore is so copious that it is next to impossible to recapitulate all the stories that were current in this district. The following two are, however, too interesting to be left unnarrated :—

(1) There was once upon a time an ambitious Astori, the like of whom was never seen among Astoris for endurance nor

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[1] *Assessment Report, Astore,* 1896, pp. 25-27, JK, 25/H-32 of 1896.

had anyone ever equalled him as a cragsman and mountaineer. This man one day decided to scale great Nunga himself, and set out early in the morning for the purpose of doing so. It was necessarily a trying, and phenomenally long climb, and the young Astori, finding about midday, that he could not reach the highest peak of Nunga, decided to assail the second highest peak. After unheard of difficulties he reached the summit and found a large tree on which grew fruit in the shape of bunches of currants. After "having surveyed the whole world which lay at his feet", he decided on starting down and decided to take some bunches of currants down for his better half. He picked some, and began his descent. After Chambering down some distance, what was his horror to find himself pursued by legion of black snakes. He descended as rapidly as possible, but the snakes gained on him, finally in desperation he began to throw away the currant bunches which were encumbering him, as he did so, he noticed that the snakes picked them up as fast as he threw them and wriggled off again up the snowy mountain sides to the top again, carrying the bunches in their mouths. This plucky Astori, however, was determined to give his spouse a bunch or two, and tumbled down the terrible nalas, and scrambled over the horrid crags, and shot along the glacier slopes as only an Astori could. Finally he reached his hutment in the Roopul, and rushing inside, shut the door in the face of his pursuers, and presented the currants to his wife. She, however, hearing a wriggling crowd of black snakes trying to gain admittance, was terribly frightened, and her husband seeing that she was so frightened and fearing the consequences of eating currants of this unusual growth, advised her to throw the currants to them, which she did, and was much relieved to see the whole troupe go wriggling up the mountain again.[1]

(2) A wily Astori Shikari (hunter) was one day on the prowl after ibex. Suddenly he was transfixed by the sight of an ibex lying close to him, on the body of which a snow leopard was feeding. The astute Shikari was about to fire at the leopard when he saw to his astonishment, a bear approaching the leopard with paws held in supplication towards him, evidently

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 29.

asking him for a portion of the ibex flesh. The leopard sternly refused. In the meantime the Astori was much exercised in his mind as to which he should shoot. Finally he came to an ingenious conclusion. As the bear turned sorrowfully away, he let bruin have a bullet in that part of his person which is naturally last to be seen on such occasions.

The bear who had been incensed at the conduct of leopard was rendered furious by what he concluded was an insult added to injury in that the leopard had struck him behind, and turning round he hugged that leopard in a terrific dying embrace. By this contrivance the Astori secured one ibex, one leopard, and one bear, with the expenditure of one round of ammunition, powder and shot being expensive in Astore.[1]

There were many tales told about the people of Bagrot, a village below Gilgit on the left bank of the river which, though not far in actual distance, was very inaccessible. The people were largely Shin and were famous for their stupidity which these tales illustrate. On one occasion the Bagrotis went to war with Punial. There was a Puniali living amongst them as a spy and he said to them : "I can show you a way by which you can reach and attack Punial. It is a fine short-cut and you will surprise the enemy, but you must wait until the river sleeps, as you must cross it if you follow the path I shall show you." The Bagrot army gathered by the river which was roaring and surging. 'This will not do', said the spy, 'the river is awake. Let us go somewhere where it is asleep'. He took the army up stream to where the river flowed deep and smooth. 'Ah', said he, this is better. The river is going to sleep. Let us sit down for a time and wait'. After a short while he threw a large cake of dried cow-dung into the river. The cow-dung floated serenely on the surface. 'Splendid' : said the spy, 'the river is now asleep. Come, let us cross it'. The Bagrotis immediately sprang in and, as no Bagroti could swim, they were all drowned.

Once a Bagroti took eight rupees and went to Gilgit to buy some clothes. When going through the bazar he saw a large water melon in a shop, a thing he had never seen before. He asked what it was. 'Oh', said the shopkeeper, 'that is an elephant's egg. An elephant is a grand animal. All your family can ride on its back. The egg will hatch shortly'. So the Bagroti gave his eight rupees and went off in triumph with his egg. As he was going along the steep nallah that led to the village the melon slipped from his grasp, rolled down, and burst into a hundred fragments. As it did so it disturbed a hare which bolted like a flash. The Bagroti was much disturbed and spent a great deal of his time in trying to catch the hare, but naturally he failed to do so. His wife, when he returned late, demanded where the clothes were, and he had to tell her the whole story of the elephant's egg. He said that what delayed him was that when the egg burst the young elephant rushed out and he had to stop and try to catch it.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 30.

The Raja of Gilgit once summoned all the Bagrotis to Gilgit to meet him. They had never seen him, did not know what to do and were very much agitated. One of their number had, however, been to Gilgit and told them to behave exactly as he did and to bend down and kiss the Raja's hand as he would. They all went off to Gilgit. It was summer and the Ra was sitting on his throne. Around him were his court : his advisers were eating melons and elegantly casting the rinds on the floor, a custom that prevailed till the end of our period of survey if anyone went to a darbar during the melon season. As the leader of the deputation bent forward to kiss the Ra's hand he slipped, at once all the rest of Bagrotis threw themselves on the floor in imitation of their leader.[1]

Ladakh

Marriage and Position of Women : In Ladakh women enjoyed unbridled power and liberty.[2] Not only did they go about unveiled, but also they mixed where men frequented and entered with them into their pursuits of business or pleasure, and partook too of their toil. They were very good weight-carriers ; in agriculture also they took their share of the work ;

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1. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 212-13.
2. Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 201.

when the seed was in, the tending of the fields, the watering and so on, was a great deal left to the women, the men perhaps having work abroad.[1]

Ladakh was a land of intense barrenness. If the population were permitted to increase the people would not have been able to keep the wolf from the door, for not only were they unable to grow sufficient to support more mouths than were already there, but with communications so bad, little could be imported.[2] Besides, the country's resources were inelastic and its isolation from the rest of the world—isolation of manners, language, and religion, as well as geographical isolation—hobbled emigration. It was found impossible for the younger ones either to marry and settle or to go out for their living. They naturally became mere helpers in the household—farm—servants to the elder brother. From that there came about the curious custom that when the elder brother married a wife she became a wife to all the brothers.

This system of polyandry had been in force in Ladakh from time immemorial, and had proved a powerful check on the population. The country's population though fairly well filled up, was not redundant. Each person had his own position in connection with the land, and it would have been impossible to take many away without throwing some of it out of cultivation.[3]

As has been said above, the system of polyandry was confined to brothers, each family having but one wife, and albeit the usual number of husbands was three, four or even five were not unknown. Occasionally one heard of a "brother" being adopted at the demand of the wife, and rather than lose their consort, the husbands had to agree to her lover becoming one of them. On no account could a family have more than one wife, so that the unfortunate younger brothers in a large one

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1. Drew, Frederic, p. 250.
2. Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 200.
3. Douie, Sir James, *The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, 1974, p. 320; *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1908, p. 4; Drew, Frederic, pp. 250-51; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 306.

had to suffer. The eldest son inherited the family estate as soon as he married, it was his duty then to provide for his parents, grandparents and unmarried sisters, in addition to which he had to support those brothers who shared his wife. This system of inheritance kept the property intact, for there was never more than one heir and the patrimony was never divided.[1]

If there was no son, then the property of the family was inherited by the eldest daughter who was free to marry any man she wished. She might choose several husbands if she so desired, all becoming the "brothers" of her first husband, who dared not protest for fear of being sacked. One can imagine the power a heiress had in her hands and how carefully the husband had to conduct himself that he was not dismissed. The husband of a heiress wes called a "magpa". He, poor fellow, was unable to leave his heiress wife unless he could prove the grossest misconduct no easy task in a country where the moral code was not too high and where husbands were prepared to share their wife.

The children of a family had one "big father" and several "little fathers". When the husband who actually married the woman died, she needed not remain with the brothers or junior husbands. If she wished to leave them, she just tied a thread to the finger of her dead husband, broke it, and was at once free of them all.[2]

The system of polyandry prevailed of course only among the poorer classes for, the rich, as everywhere else, generally had two or three wives, according to their circumstances.[3]

Customs and Ceremonies : We have seen that the Bhots of Ladakh were very social people in their habits. They made every event the pretext for a feast, which usually ended in

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1. *Ibid* ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 200.

2. Drew, Frederic, p. 250 ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, pp. 200-201 ; Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, 1912, p. 176 ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 321-22.

3. Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, 1912, p. 176 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, p. 306.

great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. The principal occasions on which these entertainments were held, were births, marriages and deaths. The ceremonies were the following :—

The birth-feast, Tsas-Ton, was held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assembled at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests made presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dined, and the entertainment ended with a bowl of Chhang. The mother remained at home for one month.

The naming-feast, Ming-Ton, which answered to the British Christening, was held just one year after the birth. The child was then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering was made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounced a name, and the relatives retired to the usual entertainment of dinner and Chhang.

The marriage-feast, Bag-Ton, was a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeded to the bride's house with a bowl of Chhang, and the relatives discussed the wedding-day and the spirits together. After the bridal day had been fixed, the bridegroom was obliged to send a portion of food and Chhang daily to his elect. After the end of fifteen or twenty days all the relatives of both parties assembled together to ask the bridegroom what presents he would make to the mother of the bride. The bridegroom made an offer, generally of a few rupees (one to ten), according to his means and the ardour of his love. A poor man would give a pot of Chhang and a silver jao (six pence) to his bride's mother, while the thriving would give a present of ten rupees. About ten or fifteen days after the "asking", the relatives of both parties assembled at the bride's house, and conducted the lady in state to the bridegroom's house, where prayers were read by a party of Lamas, and the couple were declared man and wife. The whole party then sat down to dinner and Chhang, of which the supply on these occasions was always ample. The entertainment lasted for several days, according to the means of the bridegroom, and the assembled lamas read prayers every morning to the half-sober guests.

The funeral-feast, Shid-Ton, varied according to the rank and circumstances of the deceased. For a rich man, a large party of lamas assembled, and read prayers daily until the body was burned, which did not usually take place for fifteen or twenty days. For a poor man, only a few lamas met together and read prayers for four or five days (never beyond a week), while the body remained in the house. During this time a piece of cloth was fixed over the doorway as a sign of mourning. The lamas were regaled with food and tea daily; and, when the body had burned, they were presented with the clothes and cooking-vessels of the deceased.

When a great man died, such as the Gyalpo or the Kahlon, his corpse was kept in the house for fifteen or twenty days, while the assembled lamas read prayers daily. The number of the lamas depended on the means or pride of the relatives. The body was then carried to the Pur-Khang, or place of cremation, and after being burned in a metal vessel, the ashes (Purthal) were carefully collected and made into an image of the deceased. A Chhorten, or Pyramid, was erected on the spot for the reception of an urn or funeral vessel (Pur-Gom) in which the following articles were deposited with the figure :—

1. Wheat, barley, rice, and peas.
2. Pearls, coral beads, turquoises.
3. Gold, silver, copper, iron (either in money or vessels).
4. Rolls of prayers and holy writings.
5. Pieces of the holy shukpa, or pencil-cedar, and of sandal-wood, both white and red.

The body of the great lama was interred in a coffin (Pur-Gam), dressed in the usual clothes, with the knees brought up to the Chin, and corded together in as small a compass as possible, and in a sitting posture. Beside the body were placed the deceased's plate and cup, his rolls of prayers, his praying-cylinder, and all his religious instruments, together with the grains, minerals, and metals, usually deposited with royalty. To these were added images of Shakya Thubba, Jamya, and Chanrazik, and a figure of the lama himself. The coffin was deposited in a Chhorten, before which, for some time, food and water were offered daily, and a light was kept burning every night.

In the lofty districts of Rupshu and Changthang, where no wood was procurable, and where burning with the Tibetan furze would be a tedious operation, the bodies of the dead were always exposed on hills to be eaten by vultures and wild dogs.[1]

There was, in Ladakh, a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they might not be much beyond middle-age. When the son was married and had a child then the time came for the grand-father and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They would go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this was done they had no more claim on the son, who became legal owner of the family property. There was often a house attached to a holding which was put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over was regulated by custom ; this, on the death of the old people, came back to the estate. If there be two fathers alive they were both got rid of and provided for in this way.[2]

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[1] Drew, Frederic, p. 252 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, pp. 542-43 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 307-10.

[2] Drew, Frederic, p. 252 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh, 1974*, p. 542.

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Religion

Dardistan

Zoroastrianism : We do not know the period at which the Dards were converted to Islam. At the time the Sikhs annexed Gilgit and Astore the people of those places were in some respects but very weak Mohammedans ; it so happened that the Sikh commander, Nathu Shah, was, as has been said before, a Mohammedan and a Sayyid ; he acquired over these Dards a great influence, and he exerted it to make "good Mohammedans" of them, to get them to attend more carefully to the forms of their religion.[1] The result was that by the year 1880 the dogmas of Islam took, owing to local circumstances, firmer root in some valleys of Dardistan than in others. But there are no positive records or traditions to bespeak the nature of the religion which these Islamic tenets supplanted. Circumstantial evidence, however, enables some opinion to be formed on the subject, and each religion that has in turn prevailed in these valleys has left some trace of its existence.

The Oxus valley having been the cradle of the religion of Zoroaster, the valleys south of the Hindukush were not likely to have escaped its influence. In Wakhan there were in the fourth quarter of the 19th century many towers and structures which were still ascribed to the worshippers of fire, and the tradition of this worship still lingered in Yasin. The secluded easily defensible valleys of Yasin and Gilgit were so eminently suited to afford shelter from persecution to the followers of a dying faith, that fireworship probably existed in them long after it had been driven out of neighbouring, more accessible, valleys. In the "Taleni" portion of the Nos festival, of which mention has already been made, we probably see the last surviving relic of Magian worship in these countries.

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[1] Drew, Frederic, p. 429.

Richardson, in his Dissertation, says, speaking of the ancient fire-worshippers : "In December, on the shortest night of the year, was the anniversary of the great festival of fire, called Shub Sadah, when their temples were illuminated, and large piles of fire blazed all over the kingdom ; round which the people entertained themselves all night with choral dances, and various amusements peculiar to the season."

He also says that the festival was instituted to commemorate a popular tradition—

"In the time of king Hushang (about 860 years before the Christian era) a monstrous dragon infesting the country, the king himself attacked him with stones, when one of them falling with prodigious force upon another, struck fire, set the herbage and surrounding trees in a blaze, and consumed the dragon in the flames."

The resemblance of this legend to the Gilgit legend, which the Taleni festival was said to commemorate, is noteworthy. Under the story of the tyrant Sri Badat devouring his subjects is probably concealed an ancient sun-myth. Long after the original meaning of the celebration had been forgotten, the custom no doubt survived ; and advantage may have been taken of the festival to get rid of an unpopular ruler. In the legend of Sri Badat it is represented that his life could not resist fire, and he was, even after the Dards became Mohammedans, fabbled as dwelling in a place surrounded by glaciers, from which he attempted to issue early at the time of the winter solstice, but was driven back by the Taleni.[1]

Buddhism : Later, when Buddhism was the prevailing religion on both sides of the Hindukush, this religion doubtless established itself as strongly in the southern valleys as it did in the lateral valleys of Badakhshan. Scattered through the Gilgit and Astore valleys were a number of remains of Buddhistic stone altars, similar to those which were so common in Ladakh. The name "Munni", which was still applied to them, sufficiently attests their origin, though the natives attempted to account for them by saying that they had been made for the convenience of people carrying loads to rest their burdens upon. Their size, position, and the labour that had evidently been expended on them, however, forbids the acceptance of the reason assigned. They were sometimes also called "Thalli".

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[1] Major John Biddulph, pp. 108-09.

Both in the Sai and Gilgit valleys there were several remains of Buddhist Chogtens, whose forms could still be distinctly traced. Those in best preservation were about 3 miles from Gilgit, near the village of Naupur, where there were four Choglens close together in line. The remains of a large one also existed in the Chitral valley, on a conspicuous point near the road not far from the valley of Koosht, and were still spoken of as "the idol".[1]

Fa-Hien to whom we owe the earliest account of Buddhism in Kia-Chha or Ladakh has also left us a description of the faith in one principality in Dardistan. This is Darel which he visited on his way to Udayana from Ladakh and Skardu. The noted Chinese pilgrim called it the small kingdom of To-Leigh. Here he and his fellow travellers found a large number of monks, all studying the Hinayana. They also found an imposing image of the Buddha-eight cubits high—to which offerings were made by the rulers of the neighbouring countries. Sir Aurel Stein who also mentions references to this much venerated image by Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang, says that it was a wooden representation of Maitreya Buddha.[2]

Another conclusive evidence vis-a-vis the existence of Buddhism in Gilgit and the adjacent territories came to light in July 1931 when a very interesting archeological discovery was made at Naupur in Gilgit by some boys who were playing on a small mound. They unearthed some clay model stupas, and further excavation revealed hundreds of these Buddhist votive

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1. *Ibid*; p. 109; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 202.

2. Major John Biddulph, p. 111; Ganhar, J.N., and Ganhar P.N., *Buddhism in Kashmir and Ladakh*, hereafter quoted as Ganhars, 1956, p. 205.

stupas, and lower down, a box containing old birch bark manuscripts in Sanskrit in perfect condition.

Sir Aurel Stein happened to arrive in Gilgit a few days later and was very interested in the find. He announced this discovery to the outside world.[1] This invaluable treasure was fortunately taken possession of by the Wazir-i-Wazarat, Gilgit, before it was too late. Later the manuscripts were sent to Srinagar under the order of the then Maharaja of the State, Hari Singh, who enjoined his Prime Minister to have them published.

But owing to the political disturbances in the state in the early thirties and the indifference of the powers that be, the manuscripts remained unexplored and unpublished till the late Gopalaswami Ayyangar assumed the Prime Ministership of the State. He entrusted the work of editing the manuscripts to Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt. Dr. Dutt who has given an elaborate description of some of the manuscripts and how he came to undertake the welcome task of editing them says that the late Dr. Shyamaprasad Mookerjee, then Vice-Chancellor of the Culcutta University and later also the President of the Maha Bodhi Society of India, wanted him "to obtain the mss. from the Kashmir Darbar if the Darbar decided not to publish them". But fortunately the Maharaja's government, at the instance of its Chief Secretary, Pt. Ram Chandra Kak, decided to do so on their own and provided the necessary facilities to Dr. Dutt, who with the assistance of Vidyavaridhi Shiv Nath Sharma, a Kashmiri Pandit, Prof. D.M. Bhattacharya and others edited and translated some of the manuscripts.

The Gilgit manuscripts—about five dozen in number—vary from nine inches to about two feet in length and from two inches to about five inches in breadth. They are written mostly in Upright Gupta script. According to Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt the manuscripts may have been written in the fifth, the sixth or at the latest in the 7th century A.D. But it is not unlikely that some of them may be of an earlier date. Sir Aurel Stein dates them from 6th century onwards. About the motives which incited this pious work Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt adds : "The only plausible explanation that we can offer is that well-to-do persons seeking merit by propagating the dharmasastras as enjoined in the Buddhist texts had the sacred texts copied for them and deposited in a sacred place like a stupa. This also accounts for the names of the donor, his relatives and friends appearing in the colophons of some of the mss".

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[1] Gilgit Agency Political Diary for the month of July, 1931 ; GOI, Fgn. and Pol. File No. 69-X, Sec, of 1931.

One of the donors mentioned is Shrideva Shahi Surrendra Vikramaditya Nanda. He appears to have been the ruler of Gilgit, and may have been related to either the Gupta rulers of Kashmir or, as Dr. Dutt points out, to Vikramaditya who ruled the valley towards the close of the sixth century A.D. The queens of Surrendra Vikramaditya are also mentioned. They are Shami Devi, Trailokeyadevi and Vihali. The scribe of the king's manuscript was named Aryasthirabuddhi and his collaborator Narendra Datta. Besides the king, the other donors mentioned are Shulkhina, Shulivajra, Mamtoti, Manglashura and Aryadevendrabhuta. The manuscripts so far edited and published include :—

1. Bhaisajyaguru-sutra dealing with the great revolutions of the Buddha, Bhaisajyaguru-Vaidurya-Prabharaja and their effect.

Bhaisajyaguru may be called the healing Buddha.

2. Ekadashamukham containing two dharanis or mantras which confer several benefits on their possessor and protect him from all kinds of evil and misfortunes.

3. Hayagrivavidya, a dharani written on birch bark or palm leaf and worn to ward off evils and misfortunes.

4. Sarvatathagatadhisthana—-sattvavalokana—-Buddha-—Kshetra—sandarshana—Vyuham, containing dharanis for acquiring various benefits and stalling misfortunes.

5. Ajitasena—vyakarana—nirdesha—nama— mahayana—sutra containing a story about the merits of regarding the Buddha as the Saviour of mankind and giving alms to Buddhist monks.

6. The Samadhiraja—sutra. Samadhiraja means the king of samadhis or meditations. As a state of mind, it is that

highest one in which one realises the basic unity of all objects despite seeming differences, and also that the supreme truth "does not admit of any description, differentiation, assertion or denial."

The other manuscripts published include Shrimahadevivyakarnam containing some grammatical rules, etc ; and Chivaravastu and Kathinavastu containing rules about the robes of monks and nuns and how they are to be made. Among the unpublished manuscripts are the Sadharmapundarka—sutra and Karandavyuha, devoted to the exaltation of the Buddha and Avolokiteshvara respectively, Vajracchedika Samghata—sutra, Pratimoksha—sutra and the Vinaya—pitaka of the Mula Sarvastivadins (Mula Sarvastivada was a developed form of Sarvastivada).

Buddhist stupas have not been located in Gilgit only. There were ruins of stupas and images of the Buddha in Hunza, Punial, Ishkaman, Yasin and other localities surrounding Gilgit. All these territories were once strongly Buddhist and apart from Fa-Hien, there is mention of other Chinese Buddhist monks visiting them in the fifth and the sixth centuries. Two of them Che-mong and Fa-yong are believed to have visited Dardistan early in the fifth century. Sung-yun visited Chitral, Yasin, Gilgit and Baltistan about a century later. He was accompanied by a Buddhist monk, Huisheng, and had been sent by a Chinese Empress to offer presents to the Buddhist sanctuaries and bring back Buddhist texts from India. Ou-Kong who came to India in the beginning of the second half of the eighth century also visited Yasin and Gilgit.[1]

The Census Report of India, 1931, contains the following interesting observations :

"There are two Buddhist stupas, one on the hill-side about three miles east of Gilgit and the other on the road to Nagar between Chalt and Minapin. There is a small Buddha carved on the rocks at the mouth of the Kirgah Nallah about three miles west of Gilgit and small Buddhas and Buddhist relics have been found in Yasin."[1]

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[1] Gilgit Agency Political Diary for the month of July, 1931, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, File No. 69-X, Sec, of 1931 ; Ganhars, pp. 207-210.

These facts bespeak that Buddhism lingered on in this part of the world upto comparatively recent times. This is corroborated by Knight too. Writing about Dras, part of Ladakh, whose population is now Muslim, he remarks : "We saw here large stones on which idols were carved, showing that Buddhist creed had once prevailed in this district, as it also did formerly in all the countries between the mountains we had crossed and the Hindukush range, Baltistan having adopted Mohammedanism in comparatively modern times."[2]

Hinduism : Buddhism prevailed in Dardistan for some centuries and was, then, supplanted by Hinduism, the religion of the Shins, who are said to have over-run this territory. Major John Biddulph places the last home of the Shins before the final move at Pukli, the modern Hazara district, and thinks that they swept up the Indus valley as far as Leh. That the Shin race was Hindu there can be no reasonable doubt ; this is shown by the following facts :

(1) That the Shins were not beef-eaters, and they looked upon the domestic fowl as unclean ; that their feeling with regard to the domestic fowl was shared with them by Hindus all over India ;

(2) that they had a strict regard for caste and did not have the slightest feeling or reverence for the Buddhist remains abounding within their limits ;

(3) that they used the title of Ra for their rulers, and the common suffix of Sing to their own names, with the frequent use of Sanskrit terms ;

(4) that even up to 1842 burning the dead was practised ; and

(5) that suttee was practised.[3]

Islam : Towards the evening of the 19th century, the religion of the whole of Dardistan was some form of Mohamme-

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1. Vol. XXIV, Part I, pp. 322-23.
2. Ganhars, p. 211.
3. Col. Algernon Durand, p. 203 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 429 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 113-114.

danism, and in the immense knot of mountains of which Yasin formed the centre, three different types of the same religion were met, and were now making endeavours for hegemony. From the south, Soonnee Moollahs had carried their tenets up the different valleys with more or less success. From the eastward a current of Shiah doctrines had set in from Iskardu ; and from the westward the curious Maulai or Muglee*, dogmas had found their way up the Oxus valley.

The tribes of the Indus valley were exposed to the fervid preaching of the Moollahs of Swat and Bajaur, and this had led to the adoption by them of the Soonnee tenets. The people of Chilas, who were always a less docile race than their neighbours, had made it their boast that, though travellers and traders were safe in their country, no Shiah ever escaped out of their hands. At Gor also the people were all Soonnees.

In Gilgit the population was three-fourths Soonnee and the rest Shiah, but at the commencement of the Sikh occupation, the greater proportion were Shiahs or Maulais, and it was related that any Soonnee falling into their hands was branded with a hot iron unless he consented to become a proselyte. Those who still adhered to the Maulai tenets, were mostly old men, who kept the fact concealed as far as possible, and called themselves Shiahs.

The influence of the Iskardu princes introduced Shiah tenets into the north-eastern part of Dardistan, while the tenets of the Maulais had made their way from the Oxus valley across the passes of Hindukush. In Nagar the entire population were Shiahs of the orthodox type.[1]

The Shiahs in these countries lamented the martyrdom of the sons of Ali twice a year ; once at the usual time according to the Mohammedan calendar, and again in the month of

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*The common uneducated pronunciation.

[1] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-76 ; Davies, C. Collin, *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890-1908*, 1932, p. 82 ; *Revised List of Ruling Princes, Chiefs and Leading Personages of the Jammu and Kashmir State and the Gilgit Agency*, 1939, p. 7 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 116-18 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 142 ; Maillart, Ellak, *Forbidden Journey—From Peking to Kashmir*, 1949, p. 290.

August, the season at which they said martyrdom actually occurred.

Wherever Soonnees and Shiahs were found living together, they seem to have practised a mutual tolerance rare in other purely Mohammedan communities. Intermarriage between the sects was so common as not to excite remark.[1] But owing to the migration of the Yaghistanis, who were orthodox Soonnees, to Gilgit, the distinction between the Soonnees and the Shiahs of this place had, by 1931, become pronounced and the matrimonial relations rare. Formerly, religious life of the people was also simple but contact with outsiders effected a change in their religious outlook and made them turn to Quranic injunctions with greater zeal and fidelity.[2]

The whole of the people of Hunza, Punial, Yasin and the greater number of the inhabitants of the Ludkho valley in Chitral, belonged to the Maulai sect.[3]

The head of this sect was Aga Khan, the acknowledged spiritual Chief of the Khojas of India and Persia, a gentleman of Khorasan, who came to India in 1840 for political reasons, and resided in Bombay ever since.

The countries inhabited by the Maulais were roughly divided among a number of Pirs, who were treated by their disciples with prodigious respect, but residence did not give the Pir authority over the whole of any special district. The office was hereditary, and Maulai families transferred their spiritual obedience from father to son, regardless of changes of residence. For instance, Shah Abdul Rahim of Zebak, who was honoured and respected as being next in rank to Aga Khan himself, had disciples in Sirikol, Hunza, Yasin etc ; but other Pirs also had disciples in these places. The respect paid to the Pirs by their

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1. Major John Biddulph, pp. 118-19.

2. *Census of India, 1931*, J and K State, Vol. XXIV, Part I, pp. 100-103.

3. British Agency, Gilgit, Pol. Diary for the week ending 1st November 1890, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, December 1890, Nos. 28-56 ; Gilgit Diary from 11th to 19th April 1879, GOI, Fgn, Sec, June 1879, Nos. 26-33 ; Demi-official letter from Col. Algernon Durand to R.P. Nisbet, No. 27/18 of February 3, 1890, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 351-380 ; Col. R.C.F Schomberg, p. 21 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 119.

disciples was, as said above, unbounded ; nothing was refused them. If they asked for a son or a daughter of any house, no refusal was dreamt of. One of them once remarked, "if I ordered a father to kill his own son, he dare not refuse". Whenever they moved about, they were attended by a large number of followers, who were fed and maintained out of their superfluities, and they lived entirely on the offerings of their disciples. Presents of horses, cattle, clothes, fruit, wheat, etc ; were continually made them, and the best of everything a Maulai possessed was given to his Pir. A portion of these offerings was converted into coin and sent yearly to Aga Khan, and agents travelled yearly from these remote parts to Bombay solely for the purpose of conveying these contributions to him.[1]

Next in rank to the Pirs were Caliphas, whose duty consisted in little more than the collection of offerings. The Pirs each corresponded direct with Aga Khan.

The Maulais must not be confounded with the Maulavi sect of dancing Darweshes, with whom they had nothing in common. They asserted that their sect was founded by the Iman Jaffer Ali Sadik (the just), a descendant of Ali, by the daughter of the Prophet, who died H.H. 148. Aboo Muhammed Hussain, however, writing in the Zubdatool-akhbar, says, that Muhammed, surnamed Mahdi who claimed to be sixth in descent from the Imam Jaffer Ali Sadik, founded the sect, who were first known as Ismailyas, in Egypt in the year A.H. 299. His followers recognised him as the twelfth Imam, and quoted a supposed saying of the Prophet Muhammed that every 300 years the sun would rise in the west, explaining that Muhammed Mahdi's preaching 300 years after the Hijra was a fulfilment of the prophecy. Aboo Yezid, a Mullah who questioned Muhammed Mahdi's descent from Jaffer Ali Sadik, on the plea that Ismail's only son had died childless, was proclaimed to be Dejjal (Antichrist). The conquest of Egypt by Sultan Sala-oo-deen Yusuf destroyed the mundane power of the sect in that country. They were, at that time, ruled by Azid, a descendant of Muhammad Mahdi. Meanwhile, the tenets of the sect had been brought to Persia by Hassan-i-Sabbah, an Arab of the tribe of Himyar in Yemen, who established himself later in Almot, where his grandson, on the seventh day of the Ramzan, A.H. 555, publicly proclaimed that fasting and other observances of the Sharyat were no longer obligatory.

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[1] Gilgit Diary from 11th to 19th April, GOI, Fgn, Sec, June 1879, Nos. 26-33 ; GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276 ; GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec-F, No. 57 of 1922-23 ; Gilgit Agency Pol. Diary for the Month of April 1924, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec, No. 36 of 1924 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 21 ; Gilgit Agency Pol Diary for the Week Ending Ist, November 1890, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, December 1890, Nos. 28-56 ; Major Johh Biddulph p. 119.

The precepts and observances of the sect are difficult to assertain, one of their sayings being that "a man should conceal his faith and his women."

The Soonnees spoke of them as "Kaffirs" and "Rafizi", but they themselves did not refuse to pray or eat with the Soonnees. They were sometimes accused of worshipping Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet, and accordingly styled "All-purust", and they undoubtedly esteemed Ali, who, they said, was born of Light as superior to the Prophet Muhammad, and an incarnation of the deity. They rejected the idea of a future state, believing in the transmigration of souls. Evil deeds were punished by the spirit being translated into a dog or other mean animal. Good actions were rewarded by a future incarnation as a great or holy man. They claimed little in common with other sects of Mohammedans, saying, the Soonnee was a dog and the Shiah was an ass. They questioned the divine character of the Koran, though they said that it was entrusted to the Angel Gabriel to give to Ali, but that he gave it by mistake to Muhammad.

They used in place of the Koran a book called the Kalam-i-Pir, a Persian work, which was shown to none but men of their faith. The precept most commonly quoted by them was that a man should blind himself, so that he should not be moved with envy at sight of his neighbour's prosperity ; he should weaken his hands, so that they can grasp nothing belonging to others ; and lame himself, that he may be unable to disobey the commands of his Pir. Cattle that had strayed into standing crops were not to be driven out till they had satisfied themselves. A good Maulai was already as one dead, prayers therefore were unnecessary, as also was fasting. If any forcible attempt should be made to cause a Maulai to fast, he should resist it by devouring a pinct of dust. The only pilgrimage enjoined was to the living head of their faith, who was styled the Imam-i-Zeman, or Sahib-i-Zeman. Marriage could be performed by any man whose beard was white. Seating himself with the bridegroom on his right hand and the bride on his left, he took a few pieces of roasted sheep's liver in both hands, and crossing his arms gave them to the man with his left hand and to the woman with his right. Then taking a cup of water he gave half to the woman, and after he had said a few words out of the Kalam-i-Pir, the ceremony was completed. The form of the Maulai Kalima was changed yearly in accordance with instructions from their spiritual head.

The following was a favourite poem recited in praise of the Imam-i-Zeman :—

HELP ! OH ALT

Oh amulet of life, thou glory, Sahib-i-Zeman,
Speak they praise incessantly,
Sahib-i-Zeman

Sultan of both worlds from east to west,
All kings are beggars compared to you,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

The sun of heaven shines by your beauty,
Sun and moon by your light,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

When shall peace be from evil and strife of Dejjal,
Except it be your pleasure,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

I hope that my heart may be lighted up
One day under the dust of your feet,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

There will be a day with my last breath,
I shall speak your praises,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

It is time that the sound of your trumpet
Be heard through the world,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

From kaf to kaf take the whole world
In your world-conquering hand,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

The time is come for the faithful to gird
Their loins and follow you,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

Jesus will come down from the fourth heaven
To imitate you,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

No body will worship or pay respect to God
Without worshipping also you,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

Others go their own way
But I am faithful to you,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

I, Suleem, the distracted in mind,
Have seized the skirts of your bounty,
Sahib-i-Zeman.

Wine was drunk by the Maulais without concealment, and they did not strictly abstain from eating the flesh of animals not killed in the orthodox manner. Being absolved from the constraints of prayer and fasting, the practical religion of the uneducated consisted of little more than obeying the commands of their Caliphas and Pirs, and making offerings freely through them to their spiritual chief. They were by no means intolerant, and, where permitted, lived on good terms with Soonnees and Shiahs, with whom they intermarried without restraint. From Shiahs they seldom met with hostility, owing probably to the respect they displayed to Ali, though they did not celebrate the martyrdom of Hassan and Hoossain.[1]

The Maulais of Hunza were a by-word on the frontier for their shameless violation of the dogmas of their sect. Their morals were of the loosest, a man considered himself honoured if his wife, as has been said before, attracted the Chief's attentions, and hospitality ordained that he should offer her to his guest.[1]

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[1] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 80 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 144 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 120-123 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 429-30.

His Highness the Aga Khan, however, was not a silent spectator to these orgies of obscenity and, with a view to reforming the lives of the followers of his faith, often sent his disciples to the frontier whose duty it was to impart moral education to the Maulais. As a result of their efforts, there arose, by 1923, in every village of Dardistan a fine "Jamiat Khana" for preaching and prayers. Not only all the men, but also the women of the villages, for whom a part of the building was reserved, collected at least once a week to hearken to the sermons of their village "Khalifas". And the people of Hunza gave up to "an appreciable extent" adultery and theft.

A representative of Aga Khan, who visited Dardistan in July 1923, intimated to the people that in due course he would arrange to send up religious teachers to start "Maktabs" for the benefits of the Jamiat and their children.[2]

On the death of a Maulai the choicest articles of his portable property were set aside for the Imam-i-Zeman. No food was cooked in the house, for from three to eight days, according to the rank of the deceased, and the family subsisted on food cooked elsewhere. Food was also placed on trees and exposed places for birds to eat. On the evening of the appointed day a Calipha came to the house, and food was cooked and offered to him. He ate a mouthful and placed a piece of bread in the mouth of the dead man's heir, after which the rest of the family partook. The lamp was then lighted (from which the ceremony was called "Chiragh roshan"), and a six-stringed guitar called "gherba" being produced, singing was kept up for the whole night.[3]

Ladakh : Ladakh, like Tibet, was known as the land of lamas.* Lamaism, as the form of Buddhism prevalent in Ladakh was sometimes known, was a combination of the

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[1] GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec-F, No. 57 of 1922-23 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 141 ; Drew, Frederick, pp. 429-30.

[2] GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec-F. No. 57 of 1922-23.

[3] Major John Biddulph, p. 123.

*Lama means a 'superior one'.

Mahayana and Tantrism, not unmixed with traces of Bon, the ancient religion of Tibet. Besides Sakya Thuba or the mighty Buddha, the people in Ladakh worshipped Jamya (Manjushri), Chanrazik (Avalokiteshwara), Maitreya (the future Buddha), Gvolma (Tara), Padma Pani and Vajra Pani.

Religion was a dominating factor in the life of the guileless, tractable Ladakhis. It was a modified form of Indian Buddhism, and was introduced into Ladakh during the reign of Ashoka, upwards of 2,000 years ago. In A.D. 899 it was formally done away with; but was finally restored in A.D. 971, and had since continued to be the dominant religion of the country.

Monks and nuns were fairly numerous in Ladakh. They were, respectively, styled Lamas and Chomas and the monasteries Gumpas. Most families devoted a child to the brotherhood of priests. Sometimes it was the first-born or the favourite child, but more often it was the younger sons who were not entitled to share the patrimony or their elder brother's wife that were set apart for priestly life. While the law of primogeniture was responsible for sending many younger sons to the monasteries, a girl was dedicated to the Sangha only when a family had no son or could not spare one. The relentless system of polyandry may also have something to do in condemning some girls to spinsterhood. But the number of nuns was far less than that of monks.[1]

The nuns usually passed their days placidly under the parental roof. But those not wanted there joined the nunneries. The male children dedicated to the service of the faith, however, lived with their parents only as long as they did not attain the age of about eight years. Later they joined the monasteries where they received a new name. Before ordination they had, however, to pass through the stages of pupil and probationer. The Chief monks rounded off their schooling with a trip to Lhasa which was regarded as their spiritual fountain—head by the Ladakhis. They looked upon the Dalai

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[1] Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 358-59 and pp. 381-83, Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 339; Ganhars, pp. 192-93; Drew ,Frederic, p. 256; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 544.

Lama as the deputy of the Buddha on earth and most of the Kushoks or Head Lamas of monasteries in Ladakh were appointed by him or with his assent. About half a dozen Kushaks were believed to re-incarnate themselves and after death they were searched for in the same manner as the Dalai Lama in Tibet.[1]

After the establishment of Muslim regime in Kashmir, the people of Ladakh came to look more and more to Lhasa for spiritual guidance and albeit the territory was independent, both the ruler and the subjects, out of regard, made offerings to the Head Lama there. These offerings have wrongly been interpreted as political tribute by some people—most probably because in Tibet both the mundane and celestial powers vest in the Head Lama. Even Cunningham admits that Ladakh's political dependence on Lhasa was more nominal than real.[2]

The Lamas formed a picturesque element in the country's population. Their dress was the woollen gown or Choga, dyed either red or yellow according to the sect they belonged to ; the red sect much predominated in Ladakh. They shaved their heads, and most of them went without a covering ; those of higher rank wore hats of various designs ; some had very wide-brimmed red hats made of stiffened felt.

Out of the two sects of Red and Yellow, the monks and nuns of the Yellow sect enjoyed a higher repute for asceticism and learning than their Red brethren, sisters.

The Red Sect in Ladakh, as in Tibet, regarded Padma Sambhava as its guru and founder. The Yellow Sect, on the other hand, gave the highest place to the Tibetan reformer Tson-Kha-pa. Tson-Kha-pa, who lived in the fourteenth century, instituted a stricter code of discipline. His followers were interdicted to marry or drink wine.

Clerical life conferred many privileges but the monks and the nuns were required to lead strictly disciplined lives and mostly remained celibates. Though the two lived apart, they frequently came into contact with one another. The nuns

[1] Drew, Frederic, p. 256 ; Ganhars, p. 193.

[2] Ganhars, pp. 193-94.

willingly undertook household duties like cooking, washing, etc ; in the monasteries.

The Lamas constituted such an essential element in the life of the people that social and religious life would be impossible without them. They were their mentors, physicians, priests, soothsayers and jugglers. The more important among them, the Kushoks, were looked upon as their spiritual preceptors by the rabble and both on this score and on the score of their learning, piety and kind-heartedness, they commanded great respect. The Kushok's visit to a village was an event. He was extended a colossal welcome with bands playing and the people—men, women and children—standing on either side of the route to receive his benediction. In the village people made offerings to him—both in cash and kind.

Even the smallest village had its own monastery and Lamas. Also in Buddhist houses in Ladakh, as in most Hindu houses in Jammu and Kashmir, a room was earmarked for worship. In this well-kept room were placed beautiful images of the Buddha and the other deities to whom worship was offered daily by reciting hymns and mantras and by turning the prayer-cylinder. Besides floral offerings, lights and incense were burned. So great was the devotion of the Ladakhis to their religion that when they went on a long journey they invariably carried some religious text or the other on their person. This was believed to ensure safety.[1] Beyond this, every Ladakhi chanted the mantra, "Om mani padme hom", or "God the flower of the lotus", as he or she went about his or her work or journeyed along the road. They were the first six syllables the child was taught to utter and they were the last words gasped by the dying.[2]

The monasteries or Gumpas were well endowed and their extensive estates comprised some of the most fertile tracts of land in the territory. But the people in general did not look upon them as an agency of exploitation like the Zamindars and

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[1] Neve, Ernest, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, 1912, p. 188 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 256-57 ; Ganhars, pp. 194-95 ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 340.

[2] Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 191 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 259.

Jagirdars. This was partially to their religious sentiments but mainly because the institution of Lamas was not hereditary and confined to a selected few. The Lamas, as has been mentioned above, generally did not marry and everybody was free to become a Lama.[1]

The large-scale membership of the monasteries clubbed with the possession of vast properties by them had necessitated a broad division of the monks into two categories, *viz* ; those that attended to the temporal needs of the community and the others who did not concern themselves with wordly matters but devoted their time to rumination and worship. The former cultivated the land, collected the rent from monastery tenants, wandered about from place to place to collect alms and engaged themselves in cattle breeding, trade, etc. They also took an active share in the political administration of the country. The spiritual monks, as the latter may be called, were, apart from looking after the education and training of the monks in the monastery, required to perform the Puja and organise festivals, plays and dances.[2]

The Gumpas were the most conspicuous buildings in Ladakh. The word Gumpa signifies a solitary place and in this connection it may be remembered that the monasteries were originally intended to be built in places far from the bustle and disturbing influences of the cities. And this intention seems to have been carried out, for the monasteries were always somewhat apart from the houses of the village ; they were often situated in high places difficult of access—on a spur of the mountain or on an isolated rock, or they might lie in a nook, under the shelter of a lofty cliff.[3]

These monasteries looked at once picturesque and impressive. A visit to one of them was a rewarding experience. They all contained exquisite images of the Buddha and some of the other gods of the Buddhist pantheon. The images inside some of the Gumpas were of such stupendous dimensions that one wonders how they were made and carried to the lofty pinnacles on which many of the Gumpas stood.

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[1] Ganhars, p. 195 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 257-58.

[2] Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 340 ; Ganhars, pp. 196-97 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 256.

[3] Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 376 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 254-55 ; Ganhars, p. 197 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 545.

The path leading to the Gumpas was lined with Chhoskhor or prayer cylinders and in the vicinity of some of the more influential monasteries stood edifices known as Koganis. These latter were constructed of brick and plastered over and painted. The prayer cylinder was an ingenious device for multiplying a man's prayers. Made of metal, they were filled with scrolls of prayers and charms. As a devotee walked into the Gumpa he set them in rotation with a gentle motion of the hand, believing that in doing so he was sending to heaven prayers equal to the number of prayers inside the cylinder, multiplied by the total number of rotations. Some of the cylinders were worked by water power. The Lamas always carried with them a prayer cylinder which they kept constantly rotating.

The prayer cylinder has a very long history. It is first mentioned in Fa-Hien's account of his travels. He found it in the hands of the shramanas of Kia-Chha or Ladakh. The prayer cylinder has also been found on the coins of the Kushan ruler Hushka who lived about two hundred years before Fa-Hien.

The Gumpas were spacious buildings. In addition to the main prayer halls and chapels they contained scores of rooms for the Lamas to live in. Inside the chapel were placed beautiful images of Maitreya and other gods to whom worship was offered a number of times during the day. A butter-fed wick-lamp was kept constantly burning in it. The walls of the chapel and other rooms in the monastery were decorated with beautiful paintings and costly tapestries. The monastery walls were surmounted with a large number of prayer flags.

The most famous and by all accounts the oldest and the wealthiest monastery in Ladakh was the Hemis Gumpa. Situated about twenty-two miles to the south-east of Leh it belonged to the Red Sect of Lamas. It housed hundreds of Lamas, and was connected with Leh by a mule-track.

Another important monastery was to be found at Lamayuru, about sixty miles from Leh. The monastery built on the low hills at the far end of a high valley consisted of a large number of buildings and contained a gigantic image of Chanrazik (Avalokiteshwara) with eleven heads and a thousand hands. A similar big image of the god was to be found in Shankar Gumpa near Leh. This Gumpa, belonging to the Yellow Sect, also housed a gorgeous representation of a Buddhist goddess with "a thousand arms and legs and a thousand eyes". Shankar Gumpa was perhaps the only monastery in Ladakh which was built on a level plain. Besides other images, this Gumpa contained a number of statuettes of the Tibetan reformer, Tson Khapa.

By far the biggest image—of the Buddha—in Ladakh was to be found in the Shay Gumpa about eight miles from Leh. The image put up by Deldan Namgyal was made of copper and was covered with gold leaf. Its height was estimated to be 40 feet while its head was about 8 feet broad. The statue was perfectly proportioned and exuded an atmosphere of peace and solemnity. Tsemo Gumpa rising behind the old palace at Leh housed a huge image of Chamba (Maitreya Buddha). The image was a model of symmetry and the ecstatic expression in its eyes was simply captivating. One of the Gumpas at Basgo also housed a prodigious image of Chamba.

Images studded with gold and silver and set with gems were to be met with in some other monasteries also. These and the marvellous paintings and scrolls which adorned the walls of the monasteries testified to the high artistic skill of the people of this barren land in the spheres of sculpture and painting.

Some of the other notable monasteries were Spituk, four miles from Leh, Rezong, thirty-six miles from Leh and Deskit and Samur or Samstanling in the Nubra valley.

Besides the Gumpas the two other structures which immediately attracted attention on entering a Ladakhi village were the Chortens and the Manis. The Chorten seems to have been derived from the word Chaitya. The Ladakhis believed that a good man after death is raised to the dignity of a Lhamayin or demi-god while a bad one is degraded to the state of a Durdo, or brute. The Chortens were white-washed pagoda erections, something like giant chess-men varying in height from about a yard to forty or even fifty feet. They were the graves of Lamas burried within and not under them, their ashes being mixed with clay, baked into large biscuits and stamped with the image of the Buddha. The image of the Buddha was joined with excerpts from sacred texts.[1]

The Manis were massive stone walls—about 6 or 7 feet in height, with the top sloping down from the centre towards either side. They were from 6 to 10 feet broad but their length varied from a few feet to over a thousand feet. Cunningham has recorded that a Mani he saw at Basgo measured nearly half a mile in length. The stones with which these prayer walls had been made were elaborately carved and inscribed with the well-known mantras, "Om mani padme hom", "Om Vajra pani hom", etc ; repeated hundreds or thousands of times. Some of them had whole books carved on them. The Manis were found not only near the villages but also at desolate places.[2]

These great prayer walls were built by Lamas who spent their lives moving from one place to another doing only that work, thus gaining merit for themselves, each stone so placed was considered a good deed well done. All who passed these walls must go on the left-hand side for by so doing they also gained merit.[3]

A visitor to Ladakh by the overland route first came across Manis, Chortens and Gumpas at the village of Shergol, eighteen miles from Kargil. Three miles from here at Moulbeck, was found a colossal image—eighteen feet high—of Chamba (Maitreya Buddha) carved on the face of a perpendicular rock. It is said that once when Ladakh was invaded by Muslims, the Buddhists hid it from them by erecting buildings and walls all around it.[4]

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[1] Ganhars, pp. 197-200 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 254-56 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 374-76 ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 191.

[2] Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 191 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 378 ; Ganhars, pp. 200-201 ; Drew, Frederic, pp. 258-59.

[3] Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 191.

[4] *Diary of a Tour in Ladakh in 1909*, by the Director of Archeology, Jammu and Kashmir State, JK, 16/E-16 of 1910 ; Ganhars, p. 201.

Besides containing the sacred images and the holy texts of the Buddhists of Ladakh the Gumpas were the repositories of the best in Ladakh's art and culture. The Lamas, at any rate those high up in the echelon, were paragons of good conduct. Their learning, tolerance, self-abnegation and love of fellow beings were an example to others. Their hospitality was proverbial and their sympathy for the poor and the needy well-known.

In addition to exquisite images of the Buddha and the other members of the Buddhist pantheon, the Gumpas contained exquisite works of Ladakhi art. These comprised paintings, tapestries, murals and metal work.

Like the Tibetans, the Ladakhis were also good modellers in clay and workers in metal. Their intricate work in metal was found on the various pots and utensils required for puja in the monasteries.

The Gumpas were also the places where the famous mystery plays of Ladakh were staged. Every monastery celebrated its own festival, which, in addition to the performance of the customary Puja, was an occasion for music, dance and drama. The Mela of the Spituk Gumpa fell in the middle of January while that at Shay in the beginning of August. At the Shay festival offerings to the god consisted of the first ears of corn grown on the land of landowners.

The Hemis festival in honour of Padma Sambhava was the most famous festival in Ladakh. Held in the month of June, it attracted large numbers of people from the outlying villages and some from outside Ladakh also. The mystery play, interspersed with dances, enacted on this occasion represented the fight of the forces of Evil and Good, with the latter triumphing in the end. The actors were Lamas dressed in elaborate brocade costumes. Some of them used great black hats crowned with images and others wore masks of animals, skeletons, etc. the orchestra on the occasion comprised giant trumpets, cymbals, drums and clarinets.

The Puja performed on the occasion of this and the other festivals was looked upon as a safeguard against possible calamities on the land and its people.

Just as we have seen in the case of the people of Ladakh so in the case of their Lamas, we come across no narrow spirit of exclusivism or prochialism. They freely associated with one another and participated in each other's festivals. There were, in fact, occasions when Lamas from most of the Gumpas gathered together in one monastery to worship and recite the sacred texts known as Skah-hgyur* and Stan-hgyur*. Skah-hgyur and Stan-hgyur, also known as Kanjur and Tanjur, consisted of 108 volumes and 225 volumes respectively.[1]

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*Skah-hgyur means translations of the Buddha's sayings, Stan-hgyur means translations of the works of his disciples. While the Kanjur is based on the Tripitaka with tantric additions, the Tanjur comprises treaties on grammar, poetry, logic, medicine, astrology, painting, etc; etc. The Kanjur and the Tanjur were drawn up by the great Tibetan scholar Bu-ston in the fourteenth century.

1. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 344-45; Ganhars, pp. 201-203.

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Education and Health

Dardistan : It was the policy of the Kashmir Darbar to train local people in Dardistan and Ladakh to man the lower grades of the service in these territories.[1] Many posts such as those of levy Munshis, Patwaris, etc ; which then had to be paid highly to tempt natives from Kashmir and India to serve in these districts would in course of time be able to be filled up by natives of the districts at a considerable saving to the state. In Dardistan there was an ever increasing number of youths of good families who were by birth above ordinary menial occupations and for whom no hope of employment in future existed except through education. It was politically very important to provide them with educational institutions so that they might, by receiving education, fit themselves for suitable employment and might not remain for the rest of their lives a nuisance for their own country, their relatives and the state.[2]

Accordingly, Colonel Algernon Durand, British Agent, Gilgit, requested the Kashmir Darbar through the Resident in Kashmir to appoint and pay a Mohammedan schoolmaster for Gilgit. The required teacher was to be capable of instructing in Persian, Hindustani and Arithmetic. The proposal was sanctioned by the State Council in June 1892.[3]

The school in question was opened with an establishment of one schoolmaster and one monitor. For some years this school was but poorly attended and the teaching staff was quite adequate to discharge the duties involved. But in the years 1897-98 a sudden desire was displayed by the people of the district to educate their sons and, as a result, the number of boys attending the school inflated. In July 1898 the number of pupils on the school roll was upwards of 50. Among these were also the sons and relatives of the Mirs, Rajas and Governors of the outlying districts.

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[1] Sharp, H, *A Note on Education in the State of Jammu and Kashmir*, 1916, p. 27.

[2] Capt. Stuart H. Godfrey to Amar Singh, No. 3625, July 25, 1898, JK 86/P-18 of 1898.

[3] JK, 74 of 1892 ; AAR, 1892-93, p. 10.

The large increase in the school attendance rendered the small teaching staff insufficient to carry out the work properly, and it was necessary to considerably increase the school establishment so that an advantage might be taken of the desire shown for education by the people of the frontier by giving the best education possible.

To give the people of the outlying districts the opportunity of educating their sons without sending them to Gilgit, it was essential to furnish some means of obtaining education in those districts.

The Political Agent, Gilgit, Captain Mc Mahon, therefore, beseeched the Kashmir Darbar in June 1898 through the Resident in Kashmir to give their approval to the appointment of a better educated* man as master in the Gilgit school and to that of one more monitor. Besides, the Political Agent entreated the Kashmir Government to give sanction to the appointment of Agency Munshis at Gupis and Chilas to work, apart from doing their own work as Munshis, as teachers to boys of these areas at additional monthly allowances of Rs. 10/- each.[1]

In the following month Captain Mc Mahon paid a visit to Astore. The people of this place petitioned that a school might be started here to enable them to educate their children. They volunteered to build a school house at their own expense and immediately commenced to do so in anticipation of a schoolmaster being sanctioned. The reasons urged on behalf of schools elsewhere applied with equal force to Astore. Unfortunately for the Gilgit authorities there was no Munshi available in the Astore Tehsil capable of carrying out the duties of a schoolmaster as proposed at Gupis and Chilas. Under the circumstances, Captain Mc Mahon sent in this very month another letter to the Darbar, through the Resident, requesting them to give sanction to the appointment of a suitable man as schoolmaster at Astore on monthly emoluments of Rs. 30/-.[1] The State Council sanctioned this scheme in its entirety in September.[2]

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*The then schoolmaster was not up to the work and hence the need for a better teacher, PA, G, to RK No. 1399 of June 24, 1898, JK 86/P-18 of 1898.

[1] *Ibid.*

But within a year it was found that the one master and two monitors were not sufficient to meet the academic needs of the Gilgit school. This was owing to the increase in the number of students and the institution of a regular system of classes, in accordance with the scheme of education in force for primary schools in the state. The monitors available were reported to be of little use as regards imparting instruction and it was not possible for one master to take all the classes himself. The Political Agent, therefore, proposed, in December 1899, that one of the two monitors be replaced by an assistant master. One monitor was, in the opinion of the Political Agent, necessary to assist in maintaining discipline.[3] This proposal was sanctioned by the State Council in September 1900.[4]

In 1900-1901, the Darbar gave sanction for opening a primary school at Boonji, and the local Gilgit school was raised from upper primary to middle standard with 2 additional teachers.[5] The following year witnessed the opening of a school in Hunza by its Amir on the plea that the boys of this place were unable to repair to Gilgit for receiving their education.[1] And in December 1905 the Political Agent, Major B.E.M. Gurdon, authorised the Agency Munshi, Hunza, to open a preparatory school at Baltit in Hunza. The latter was to receive an allowance of Rs. 10/- per mensem for doing the work of schoolmaster at Baltit.[2]

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[1] *Ibid*, PA, G, to RK, No. 27/C of July 18, 1898, JK 86/P-18 of 1898.

[2] State Council Resolution No. 6 of September 10, 1898, JK 86/P-18 of 1898 ; AAR of Samvat year 1957, p. 29.

[3] PA, G to RK, No. 4840 of December 6, 1899, JK 86/P-18 of 1898.

[4] J and K State Council Resolution No. 18 of September 7, 1900, JK 86/P-18 of 1898.

[5] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, p. 16.

In the year 1909 the Junior Assistant Inspector Baramulla division paid a visit to Dardistan. He formulated the budget proposals of the schools in Gilgit Wazarat, in consultation with local officers. This council of officers recommended an increase in the salary of teachers in the area and opening of some new primary schools at an estimated yearly hike of Rs. 2390/- in the outlay on education. The Political Agent approved these proposals and the Maharaja, to whom these were submitted for sanction, declared that endeavours would be made to give effect to them.[3]

With the passage of time, the number of schools in the Agency increased, so that in 1911 the Jammu and Kashmir State maintained one middle school at Gilgit and 7 primary schools one each at Astore, Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, Boonji, Hagas, and Punial at an annual cost of rupees 7500.[4] Competent teachers were obtained from Aligarh and other educational institutions for service in these schools.[5]

To improve the efficiency of these frontier schools, an Inspector of Schools was appointed whose duty it was to visit them annually and make suggestions for bettering the standard of education in them.[6]

In 1915 the State Government constructed a Boarding House at Gilgit and attached it to the Middle School there for the residence of students from the outlying districts. No house rent was charged from these boys.[1]

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[1] Pol. Agency, G, Official Diary for the week ending 17th May 1902, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, October 1902, Nos. 365-397.

[2] Pol. Agency, G, Official Diary for the week ending 16th December 1905, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, February 1906, Nos. 114-146.

[3] JK 24/P-75 of 1909.

[4] Minister of Education, J and K State, to Chief Minister, J and K State, June 30, 1911, JK 71/P-48 of 1911.

[5] JK 86/P-18 of 1898.

[6] Minister of Education, J and K State, to Chief Minister, J and K State, June 30, 1911, JK 71/P-48 of 1911.

In 1926 also some schools were opened in the Agency districts.*

State Assistance to Students

Rations : In order to encourage the people of the outlying districts to send their sons to Gilgit for the purpose of receiving education, the Kashmir authorities gave free rations to students from these areas. Besides, these students enjoyed, as has been said above, free lodging facilities. The Darbar extended this patronge because the circumstances of the Agency were peculiar. The people, even the Chiefs and Headmen, had but little or no ready money. At home their property was in land and kind and they supported their households on their own grain and produce or on what they obtained by barter in kind. Thus when it came the question of sending their sons away from home to school at Gilgit, they were unable to provide the money which the very heavy cost of food supplies at Gilgit necessitated for their support, and were therefore unable to send their sons to Gilgit unless granted some assistance by the Kashmir Government. And this assistance was given and had to be given in the form of rations and residence.[2]

Scholarships : Merit and poverty scholarships were also given to students in the Agency and up to the year 1917 no rules for the award of these scholarships existed, but in this year a set of rules were prepared and enforced by the State Government to regularise their award.[3] Apart from giving scholarships for receiving education in different schools in the Agency, the State Government encouraged boys from this clime to prosecute their studies in places like Srinagar and

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[1] AAR of Samvat year 1971 (1914-15AD), p. 99.

* The exact number is not given in the records. AAR of Samvat year 1983-84 or 1926 AD, p. 98.

[2] PA, G, to RK, No. 1399 of June 24, 1898, JK 86/P-18 of 1898.

[3] JK A-12/58 of 1917. For details of the rules see Appendix No. I.

Aligarh and provided stipends for the same.[1] And in course of time the British Government of India also started extending helping hand to such students. Thus, for instance, ten scholarships of Rs. 10/- per month each were sanctioned by the Imperial Government in the year 1928 for the students of the political (outlying) districts of the Agency studying in Srinagar.[2] And in the year 1932 the value of educational scholarships for students belonging to this frontier region of the State was increased. This was done by way of giving effect to the recommendations of the Glancy Commission that was appointed by the Darbar in the autumn of 1931.[3]

The joint efforts by the Imperial and Kashmir Governments in the direction of spreading education in Dardistan were not a futile exercise but did deliver the goods, for by the year 1917 there were local educated men qualified to hold posts not only of Munshis, Patwaris etc.[4] but even those of Naib-Tehsildars.[5]

Technical Education : Owing to the fact that no kind of skilled labour (except sawyers) was available for the Public Works Department in the Gilgit division, the installation of a Technical School was sanctioned by the Kashmir Government in 1914 and it actually came into existence in 1919. It was considered that if skilled labour was available locally and suitably distributed over this part of the country, greater economy and efficiency would result. The object of the school was :—

(*a*) To reduce Public Works Department expenditure by creating cheap skilled labour,

(*b*) To improve the type of local buildings, roads, bridges etc. not in Public Works Department charge, and generally to improve the sanitation and standard of living in these parts, and

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[1] GOI, Fgn, Front-B, January 1901, Nos. 61-63 ; AAR, 1900-1901, p. 144 ; J and K State Council Resolution, dated November 17, 1900, JK 10-A of 1889 ; JK 26 of 1899.

[2] Administration Report of the GA for the year 1928, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Sec, File No. 97-X of 1929.

[3] AAR, 1932. For details see appendix No. II.

[4] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, p. 16.

[5] JK 8/44-3-G of 1918.

(*c*) To provide a Primary Technical training for young men.

The initial charges of the school were to be Rs. 12,508/- required for construction of the necessary buildings and purchase of Tools and Plant and the recurring charges for the upkeep of the institution to be Rs. 2100/- per annum.

But owing to financial stringency due to World War I full amount was not forthcoming. Therefore, Rs. 2900/- only were granted in the Samvat year 1975 to give the school a start, the existing Public Works Department workshop and stores building was remodelled at a small cost to serve as Technical School, and Rs. 2300/- per annum was the recurring charge for the upkeep of the school since then.

The course of instruction in the school was spread over 3 years and not more than 12 students in all could be accommodated. The men trained in the institution were able to carry out the ordinary type of work, but yet lacked the experience to tackle and turn good class of work in buildings of high class. But in the course of time things considerably improved and it did not remain necessary to import skilled labour in large number for work of each and every kind to be executed by the department, as was usual before the school turned out any student. Heavy expenditure had to be incurred in paying in and out expenditure as well as usually high daily wages, which were now reduced very appreciably. For erection of suspension bridges several trained carpenters and Khalasis had to be imported whereas in the year 1926 two suspension bridges were built by the aid of local men mainly.[1] This school was closed in Samvat year 1991-92 or 1935 A.D. because of the lease of the Agency to the British for sixty years.[2]

In the year 1919 the Kashmir Government fixed Rs. 7/- per month as scholarship to students under training in the above school, and increased it to Rs. 12/- per month in 1922. In his report for Samvat year 1978 on this school the Divisional Engineer, Gilgit division, made the following proposals :—

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[1] JK 228/A-15 of 1914.

[2] AAR, 1990-92 (1934-35, A.D.).

Scholarship

(a) **Boys from Gilgit Proper** : The scholarships for beginners to be Rs. 7/- per month ; but on their showing marked improvement in their work to be raised by Re. 1/- say after every six months, till after 2½ years they would get Rs. 12/- per month.

(b) **Boys from Outside** : The scholarship for beginners to be Rs. 12/- per month to be gradually raised to Rs. 15/- per month as above.

(c) **Leave** : Boys from outside to be allowed a fortnight's leave after every six months to see their parents which would refresh them a great deal.

(d) **Bedding and Utensils** : The provision of bedding and utensils by the outsider students themselves.

The Political Agent, Gilgit, agreed to the proposal except item (d). In this case he stated that the provision of bedding and utensils by the outsiders themselves was a real difficulty as they had got none in their homes. The Political Agent, therefore, recommended that the bedding and utensils might be provided from the State funds for such boys as could not provide their own on loan to be recovered from them when they left the school. These proposals were sanctioned by the State Council in September 1923.[1]

In August 1924 the Chief Engineer, Roads and Buildings, applied for sanction to the appointment of a wholetime Instructor in the said school, as the existing Master had to attend to other works as well and could not properly attend to his duties in the Technical School. This proposal was approved by the Maharaja-in-Council in October.[2]

Ladakh : In the year 1874 a Sanskrit school was opened by the Kashmir Darbar at Leh in Ladakh[3], at an yearly

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1. JK 1608/F-69 of 1923 (Genl. Department).

2. State Council Resolution No. 29 of October 8, 1924, JK 1608/E-69 of 1923, Genl. Department.

3. Seru, S.L., *History and Growth of Education in Jammu and Kashmir 1872 to 1973*, pp. 54-55.

expenditure of Rs. 4,360/-. It was known as the Shastri School and was established for the education of Tartar boys, young lamas etc. A Kashmiri Pandit was appointed to act as teacher in this school, and nothing but Sanskrit was allowed to be read.[1] The headmen of nearly all the villages of Ladakh were under orders to keep one of their sons or near relation in this school.

These orders were, however, usually evaded, paid substitutes being sent instead of the headmen's sons. The students were never allowed to learn the Sanskrit language, for fear that they might understand the books they were made to learn by heart.[2] The Tartars were very glad to be instructed in reading and writing the Persian character (which was the official Kashmir handwriting), as it could prove of much practical use to them in their intercourse both with Indian and Turkestan merchants, but they were very averse to wasting their time in mumbling a few pages of Sanskrit which they neither understood nor desired to remember. The boys of the school were kept with great difficulty in attendance. They constantly ran away, in spite of the Maharaja's liberal payments of scholarships, gifts of food, etc. etc. The Maharaja was aware of the unpopularity of the school, but he refused to give it up, although the number of students in it was decreasing year after year.[3]

In October 1882 the Joint Commissioner of Ladakh made the following remarks respecting the object the Kashmir Government had in view in establishing the above school: "The Sanskrit (or Shastri) school, which has been in existence here for some years, was virtually broken up to-day ; only five scholars remaining. This school was established by the present

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[1] Diary of the Joint Commissioner of Ladakh from Ist to 15th October 1882, GOI, Fgn, A, Pol-E, November 1882, Nos. 55-58 ; Memo from Major P.D. Henderson to T.H. Thornton, No. 661, October 25, 1877, GOI, Fgn, Pol-A, December 1877, Nos. 205-217.

[2] Diary of the Joint Commissioner of Ladakh from Ist to 15th October 1882, GOI, Fgn, A, Pol-E, November 1882, Nos. 55-58.

[3] Memo from Major P.D. Henderson to T.H. Thornton, No. 661 of October 25, 1877, GOI, Fgn, Pol. A, December 1877, Nos. 205-217 ; Diary of the Joint Commissioner from Ist to 15th October 1882, GOI, Fgn-A, Pol-E, November 1882, Nos. 55-58.

Maharaja of Kashmir for the purpose of converting the Bhots to Hinduism..."[1].

And the comments of the Officer on Special Duty in Kashmir, Major P.D. Henderson, were : "The school which is maintained in Leh by the Maharaja for the education of the Tartar boys is remarkably unpopular. It is a petty hobby of His Highness to draw together the great systems of Buddhism and Hinduism, which are, in so many respects, diametrically opposed....The Maharaja is aware of the unpopularity of the school ; but he refuses to give it up. On the other side, he is said to be desirous of introducing instruction in the tenets of Buddhism among the Kashmiri Pandits".[2]

Had the Maharaja of Kashmir entertained a yearning to introduce instruction in the dogmas of Buddhism among the Kashmiri Pandits, then, we could reasonably think that the underlying object of his policy to induce the people of Ladakh to learn Sanskrit was to convert them to Hinduism. But as this was not the case, it is impossible for us to concur in the views of the British Joint Commissioner of Ladakh on the subject. We, on the other hand, feel inclined to accept the opinion that the Maharaja by requiring the Bhots of Ladakh to learn Sanskrit and the Kashmiri Pandits the dogmas of Buddhism wanted to draw together the systems of the two religions.

In 1898-99 the Wazir-i-Wazarat, frontier districts, proposed to start two new schools, one at Iskardu* and the other at Kargil. The proposal was sanctioned by the State Council and the scheme given effect to in the following year.[3]

In 1903-04, two new schools were opened in Ladakh[4], and in 1905-06 a provision of Rs. 200/- was made for the award of stipends to pupils attending the Leh School.[5]

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1. Diary of the Joint Commissioner from Ist to 15th October 1882, GOI, Fgn-A, Pol-E, November, 1882, Nos. 55-58.
2. Memo from Major P.D. Henderson to T.H. Thornton, No. 661, October 25, 1877, GOI, Fgn, Pol-A, December 1877, Nos. 205-217.

*In some records Skardu.

3. AAR, 1900-1901, p. 538.
4. AAR of Samvat years 1958-60, p. 562.
5. AAR of Samvat year 1962 or 1905-06 A.D., p. 127.

In 1908 the Wazir-i-Wazarat of Ladakh proposed that the Primary school at Leh should be raised to the status of a Middle school as the number of students was increasing day by day and there being no Middle school in the Wazarat, the students of the place had no alternative but to give up their studies after passing the primary examination. To give effect to the proposal he asked for the services of an additional teacher on monthly emoluments of Rs. 30/-. The Inspector of Schools in the State was of the view that the school would come as a boon to the residents of Leh. The Maharaja, therefore, sanctioned the proposal in February 1908.[1]

In 1926-27, Ladakh was given many schools. But out of these sanctioned schools, some could not be opened for want of local qualified men in the district. Local Middle passed hands were not yet available in a large number in this area for service as teachers in primary schools. There was already one Middle School at each of the places Skardu and Leh ; but as education was backward in these illaqas, the number of students passing the Middle school examination was small.[2]

The year 1930 saw the establishment of one Middle school in Kargil.[3] And as in Gilgit, the Kashmir Government maintained technical schools at Leh and Skardu.[4]

State Patronage of Education

In order to provide incentives to the simple people of Ladakh for receiving education the Darbar used to give merit and poverty scholarships to the students of this region under set rules.* These stipends were given to enable the boys to prosecute their studies in the schools on the frontier and in Srinagar, as was the case with the students in Dardistan.[5]

This financial assistance to needy but intelligent students of Ladakh enabled them to receive elementary education at their

[1] JK 253/W-27 of 1908.

[2] AAR, of Samvat year 1983 (1926-27 A.D.), p. 5.

[3] AAR, 1930.

[4] AAR, of Samvat years 1987-90 or 1932-34 A.D.

*For details of the rules see appendix No. III.

[5] JK, 184/P-20 of 1916 ; JK, 8/44-3-G of 1918.

native place and some of them even joined high schools and colleges in Srinagar and qualified, by passing the Intermediate examination of the Punjab university, for the post of Naib-Tehsildar.[1] This was a great boon to Kashmir authorities in as-much-as these local educated youths could be appointed to different posts on the frontier on much less emoluments than those imported from down country.

Health

Dardistan : The British Government of India and the Kashmir Darbar took rather a meticulous care of the health of the people that providence had placed under their charge on the Gilgit frontier. The people here used often to suffer from, and die of, diseases like malarial and typhus fever, leprosy, dysentery, scurvy, influenza, small-pox etc. Similarly, the livestock were harried and decimated by rinderpest and mouth and foot diseases.[2]

Influenza was noted as being epidemic during the spring, autumn and winter months. Dysentery was specially prone to occur in the month of September. The Agency Surgeon attributed the general grubby dwellings of the people as its cause, men and cattle living under the same roof. Impure water drawn from irrigation channels was, in the opinion of the Agency Surgeon, a large factor in the cause of malarial fevers.[3]

For the treatment of the soldiers and the civilian population, the Gilgit authorities established a number of hospitals and dispensaries in the Agency territory during the Dogra regime. In the beginning of 1879 the Kashmir Darbar established, with the concurrence of the Government of India, a dispensary in Gilgit at the request of the then British Agent, Major John Biddulph. The project entailed an expenditure of Rs. 3,000/- which was borne by the State Government. The dispensary was to function under the supervision of Dr. Scully.[1] Dr. Robertson established a dispensary at Gakuch in Punial in the year 1890.[2] During 1894-95, a small but suitable hospital was built by the Pioneer Regiment for the Chilas garrison in the new fort in this town. And at Boonji a large disused godown was converted by the Medical Officer, by improvements and additions, into a suitable garrison hospital and dispensary. The Agency Surgeon writes : "Altogether during the year substantial additions to the hospital accommodation in the district were made, though something still remains to be done."[3]

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[1] JK 8/44-3-G of 1918.

[2] GA Official Diary for the week ending the 16th of February 1895, GOL, Fgn, Sec-F, July 1895, Nos. 1052-1102 ; GA Official Diary for the week ending the 30th September 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, November 1897, Nos. 534-543 ; AAR, October 1927 to October 1930, p. 36 ; AAR, 1894-95, p. 100.

[3] AAR, 1898, p. 455.

In January 1898, the Darbar sanctioned Rs. 3000/- for the construction of a new hospital at Chilas, for the existing hospital building had no civil sick ward dispensary or cook house. These buildings were urgently required at Chilas, as the want of them rendered the treatment of civil patients difficult. Medical assistance besides being desirable on grounds of humanity was of great importance on political grounds in a frontier station such as Chilas[4], where a large number of cases flocked from Darel, Tangir, and the Indus valley.[5] The new hospital was opened on January 1, 1900. It consisted of two wards, a dispensary, cook-house, compounder's quarters and godown.[6] In 1900-1901, a new and excellent operation room was completed in Gilgit at a cost of Rs. 2000/-.[7] And in the autumn of 1901 another dispensary was constructed in the Punial district at Singol.[8]

Zenana or Female Hospital, Gilgit : This hospital was presented by a contractor, Tek Chand, and publicly opened on the 1st of April, 1900. It was styled as Bertha Hospital. Its origin was due to a long-felt desire that something should be done to afford medical aid to the poor women and children of the Gilgit district and to arrest the great infant mortality which was so prevalent in those parts. Various attempts were made from time to time to get a Lady Doctor to put in charge of the hospital but owing to the inaccessibility of the district, the shortness of funds and one reason and another, these attempts proved more or less futile.

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[1] GOI, Fgn, Genl-B, April 1879, Nos. 284-287.

[2] GA Pol. Diaries for the weeks ending the 30th of August and the 18th of October 1890, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, December 1890, Nos. 28-56.

[3] AAR, 1894-95, p. 90.

[4] PA, G, to RK, No. 131, January 17, 1898, JK 87/Q-13 of 1898; AAR, 1897-98, p. 14.

[5] AAR, 1897-98, p. 15.

[6] AAR, 1899, p. 462.

[7] AAR, 1900-1901, p. 454.

[8] GA Pol. Diary for the week ending the 10th of August 1901, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, January 1902, Nos. 54-88.

And it was only on July 6, 1910, that the Maharaja sanctioned the appointment of one Mrs. Gillet, a Eurasian, on Rs. 150/- per month to the above post. The Maharaja made this appointment at the recommendation of the Superintending Surgeon, Kashmir Hospitals. But immediately after her appointment the lady in question made fresh demands and wished to take an invalid husband to Gilgit with her. She was, under the circumstances, thought to be useless not only by the Superintending Surgeon but by the Resident, the Agency Surgeon and the Political Agent. Her appointment was, therefore, cancelled by the Maharaja in the following month.

In October 1911, the Agency Surgeon and the Superintending Surgeon recommended to the Maharaja the appointment of one Mrs. Aberigh Mackay at a monthly salary of Rs. 200/-. This lady though unqualified as a Lady Doctor, was by her experience and character eminently well qualified to hold charge of the Zenana Hospital under the supervision of the Agency Surgeon. The appointment was approved by the Maharaja.

But, unfortunately, Mrs. Aberigh Mackay died after serving only for some nine months on the frontier and the post consequently fell vacant. The Superintending Surgeon now (October 1912) proposed to fill the vacancy by the appointment of one Mrs. Lowe. She was a fully trained and qualified nursing sister of Guy's Hospital with special training and experience in Obstetrics and Gynecology, and the Superintending Surgeon was satisfied after personal interview, that the arrangement would prove satisfactory. It was proposed to appoint her on probation for one year on the same salary as was given to her predecessor. The Maharaja sanctioned this appointment in December.

On the expiry of the term of Mrs. Lowe, the post was filled, in February 1914, by one Sub-assistant Surgeon Sundera Lali on monthly emoluments of Rs. 130/-. She had agreed to serve the State for a period of 3 years.[1]

The number of medical institutions in the Agency went on increasing as years went by. In 1914-15, the number of such institutions was 12.[2] In 1928 a new dispensary was constructed at Aliabad and a sub-assistant surgeon placed in charge instead of a compounder. The Mir of Hunza always took a particular interest in the dispensaries in his State and did everything to encourage men as well as women to attend them.[3] In 1930 two new dispensaries were opened at Ishkaman and Yasin, and a new male and female ward was built at Singol.[4]

X-Ray Installation in the Gilgit Hospital

At the request of the Agency Surgeon, the Government of India accorded, in December 1936, sanction to the installation of an X-Ray apparatus in the Gilgit Hospital at a cost not recurring of Rs. 9,650/-. The plant was established during the following year by one S.K. Dey of the Victor X-Ray Corporation, Bombay. The reasons which justified the installation of the plant were :—

1. Gilgit Hospital served a very large area, and consequently many serious cases were admitted, which required careful and thorough examination to enable correct diagnosis to be made. Without an X-Ray plant it was often very difficult and sometimes impossible to reach an accurate diagnosis, and treatment therefore was often a guess work.

2. In January 1936 there were five cases in Gilgit hospital who urgently required X-Ray examination and the Agency Surgeon was in a chronic condition of inability to treat patients according to modern standards.

3. For eight months in the year Gilgit was cut off from

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[1] JK 229/F-53 of 1909 ; AAR, 1911-12, pp. 65-66.

[2] AAR, 1914-15, p. 91.

[3] Administration Report of the GA for the year 1928, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, (Sec), File No. 97-X of 1929.

[4] AAR, 1930, p. 26.

any place where there was an X-Ray apparatus, and during the other four months the journey to Srinagar took two weeks in conditions which were impossible for those who were seriously ill. In other words, it was, in practice, impossible to obtain an X-Ray examination for any patient in Gilgit however great the need. In view of the importance of X-Ray in modern methods of diagnosis and treatment this was a state of affairs which urgently required to be rectified.[1]

Supply of Potable Water : Side by side making arrangements for the treatment of the people by establishing hospitals and dispensaries in the Agency, the Gilgit authorities endeavoured to ward off the very diseases that the people suffered from. To this end, they, inter alia, furnished potable water to European and native officials and other ranks of the Imperial Service Troops stationed in Gilgit town. The project for supplying good drinking water was sanctioned, at the suggestion of the Gilgit authorities and the recommendation of the Resident in Kashmir, by the Government of India and the Darbar in the spring of 1913,[2] and was completed in 1916-17.[3] The entire cost of this scheme was gladly borne by the Kashmir State.[4]

Prior to the completion of this project the water supply for Europeans was obtained from a spring one and a half miles from their Bungalows in Gilgit town, and, though special servants were engaged to carry the water, it had been found in practice that through the carelessness or laziness of the servants, pure spring water was not always brought in for the British Officers. The water from irrigation channels was substituted, which had acted detrimentally, in a marked degree, on the health of the Europeans in Gilgit.

The Indian Officials, and their staff, as well as the various ranks of the Imperial Service Troops, utilised the water from these irrigation channels almost entirely for drinking purposes, a source of supply which was quite unfit for human consumption as it was liable to pollution.

1. GOI, Fgn. and Pol. (F) No. 424-A of 1935.
2. JK 43/B-39 of 1913.
3. AAR, 1916-17, p. 56.
4. Maharaja's order No. 2208, March 11, 1913, JK 43/B-39 of 1913.

In these circumstances it was decided to bring the water in pipes from the spring to the British Officers' quarters and hospital in the first place, with the possibility of an extension of the pipe line thereafter for the use of all officials of Gilgit and of the military garrison.[1]

And the interest that the British evinced in the execution of these sanitary works did not fail to influence the people of this region who did emulate this example of the white biped. Thus, for example, in 1898 the Mir of Hunza was busy urging his people to build separate houses for cattle and goats[2], as the living of men and cattle under the same roof gave rise to diseases like dysentery.

Ladakh : The Kashmir Government set up hospitals and dispensaries in Ladakh[3] as they had done in Dardistan. Besides, the Moravian Mission too rendered medical services to the people. This Mission had established a hospital at Leh. It consisted of a dispensary and several works for inpatients and was admirably managed by the medical man in the Mission. In 1904 this hospital was managed by one Dr. Shawe the head of the Mission, assisted by Mrs. Shawe and a Mrs. Miles, in the capacity of nurses. The hospital was extremely popular and largely attended. Dr. Shawe received no allowance or remuneration for his services. The hospital received a yearly grant of Rs. 150/- from the Government of India for the purpose of medicines and a further grant of Rs. 60/- to cover the cost of miscellaneous expenditure, such as stationery, postage and renewal of furniture.

The State Government had also established a dispensary in Leh, but this institution could not compete with the Mission hospital. The bulk of the medical work remained in the hands of Dr. Shawe. People had far more confidence in him than in a hospital assistant who was in charge of the State dispensary. Dr. Shawe was well known and popular in the country and every one of the numerous traders who passed through Ladakh went straight to him, if necessity arose, for medical treatment. A large and increasing number of Europeans too passed yearly through Leh.

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[1] First Assistant to RK, to the Chief Minister of His Highness, No. 1054, February 21, 1913 , JK 43/B-39 of 1913.

[2] AAR, 1898, p. 455.

[3] Inspection Note of Revenue Minister on Tehsil Kargil of August 15th-17th, 1908, JK 46 of 1899 ; JK 281/P-80 of 1908.

Under these circumstances, S.B.A. Patterson, Assistant Resident for Leh, recommended, in September 1904, to the Resident, E.G. Colvin, that the State dispensary be abolished and the medical arrangements be handed over to the Moravian Mission. The Resident in turn forwarded this proposal to the Darbar who, however, did not accept it on political grounds. They, by abolishing the dispensary at Leh, did not want to give the impression to the people of Ladakh that the State Government was neglecting its duty of furnishing medical aid to them.[1]

Establishment of Leper Asylum

In the year 1911 the Moravian Mission made an offer to the Kashmir Darbar to open a small Asylum for Lepers at Leh, if some help was afforded to it by the State. The Wazir-i-Wazarat of Ladakh supported this proposal and so did the Superintending Surgeon, Kashmir State Hospital. The latter recommended the arrangement for acceptance on the ground that it would prove a very economical method of providing for the needs of lepers in Ladakh. The Mission demanded Rs. 500/- for building a small Asylum and Rs. 150/- per annum to maintain the lepers.

The scheme was sanctioned by the Maharaja-in-Council in March 1913. The Darbar ruled that the Asylum would remain in charge of the Moravian Mission at Leh on the understanding that it would be under the control of the State Medical Department to be conducted on the lines approved by the Darbar. It was a State Asylum and a property of the State.

The Asylum which was thus opened, however, found that the existing provision of Rs. 150/- per annum was not sufficient for the upkeep of the lepers. Its superintendent, F.E. Peter, therefore, entreated the Darbar in the beginning of 1914 that an additional amount of Rs. 480/- be sanctioned for the Asylum in the budget of the following year. And the Maharaja-in-Council obliged him in the matter.[1]

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[1] JK 46 of 1899 ; Capt. R.E.A., Hamilton to Chief Minister to His Highness the Maharaja of J and K, No. 426-G of August 5, 1907, JK 229-A/P-86 of 1907.

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[1] JK 33/B-36 of 1913.

7

Agriculture

Dardistan

Crops : Dardistan produced wheat, barley, naked barley, rice (in Gilgit village only), maize, millet, buckwheat, pulses (mungi, mash, massar, mothi etc.), rape, cotton[1], China, Kangni, Trumba, peas, tobbaco and vegetables of various kinds.[2]

Fruits : As to fruits, almonds, mulberries, peaches, plums, apricots, grapes, apples, quinces, pears, greengage, figs (not in any perfection), walnuts, pomegranates, and sarshing ; besides musk-melons and water-melons, were grown. Silk was also grown, but in very small quantities ; the warm was smaller than that of Kashmir, and the Cocoon was small.[3]

In the Agency the fruit crops were so prolific that the people lived largely on them in summer.[4] The cultivation of apricots was one of the chief industries in Hunza and the women of this place had a saying to the effect that their men must not emigrate to regions where apricots did not grow.[1] Practically in every part of the Agency even the animals took to a fruit diet, and one could see donkeys, cows, and goats eating the fallen mulberries. The very dogs fed on them.[2]

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[1] GA Pol. Diary for the months of June and October 1923, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec-F, No. 57 of 1922-23; GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Sec, File No. 69-X of 1931 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 409 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 4.

[2] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276 ; GA Diary for the week ending 17th October 1896, Confdl, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1897, Nos. 1-47.

[3] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276 ; Drew, Frederic, p. 409 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 150 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 4; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 35 ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol II, p. 267.

[4] Col. Algernon Durand, p. 161.

The tract in Dardistan being mountainous, lands for cultivation had to be prepared and levelled at a great cost of labour and trouble. Level lands affording easy cultivation were but rare. Mountain slopes and alluvial plateaus had been cut into terraced fields supported by retaining walls which had to be constantly maintained. The height of these retaining walls varied with the sloping nature or steepness of the tract. Owing to the sloping nature of the lands the fields were divided into very small plots, as the larger beds required higher retaining walls. The walls were made with a view to preventing the surface of the fields being swept away by the action of water irrigating them. In the deep valleys cultivation was generally scattered, and the fields distant from the houses were not well looked after.

In some of the lower and warmer parts where two crops were raised, the soil was usually of sandy and stony character and the shallow layers of light earth did not allow the plants to grow well. Lands lying immediately at the foot of the hills were more stony, on account of debris which kept falling down the hills and accumulated in the fields below.

The upper and colder parts possessed a better soil mixed with loam. They, however, yielded only one crop in summer, the lands there remaining under snow during the winter. The labour of walling the fields in cold parts was comparatively less, and the crops required to be watered less frequently than those in the lower and warmer parts. The main slopes of the mountains enclosing these tracts being less exposed to the sun were generally moist and allowed forests and pastures to grow on them.

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1. GA, Diary for the week ending 12th August 1893, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, November 1893, Nos. 70-86 ; Capt. H.B. Luard to Agency Surgeon, May 21, 1893, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1894, Nos. 9-26 ; Maillart, Ellak, *Forbidden Journey from Peking to Kashmir*, 1937, p. 290.

2. Col. Algernon Durand, p. 161.

The tract being rainless, land was almost wholly irrigated by artificial water courses, which owing to the physical nature of the country were difficult to maintain.

The people of Gilgit, unlike those of Hunza-Nagar and Skardu, were generally lazy and appear to have taken not much pains in cultivating their lands. They had also little liking for manual labour, which was supplied, as has been said before, at places by the Baltis, and partly by the people from Yagistan and Hunza-Nagar, who worked for Zamindars on their lands. The people of Astore were, however, more laborious than those of Gilgit, and did not depend on foreign labour at all. Compared with Hunza-Nagar and Skardu, the pressure on cultivation due to growth of population was less heavy here, and this probably constitutes the main reason that accounts for the slovenly habits of the people. Another difficulty, that perhaps stood in the way of the people attending to their fields properly, appears to be the burden of Karbegar (forced labour). With the exception of ploughing and other hard duties the work of agriculture was mainly left to the women folk. During summer the men spinned the wool, while the boys looked after their flocks on the mountain pastures. In the snowy tracts where pasture lands remained covered with snow during winter, cattle were confined to the village, and were looked after by the females.

Manures : As sand and stone predominated in the soil, crops could not flourish well in the absence of manure. Dead leaves of trees, rotten straw and wild plants were collected in the beginning of spring inside the enclosures attached almost to every house, where people kept their domestic animals. The dung of sheep, goats, cattle and horses was also mixed with them later on. Kabir-booti (a wild plant) was also made to serve as a manure particularly on Shali lands.

Grim was the best manured crop in the area, but in the tracts of lower altitude, where wheat was succeeded by maize the same year, the land received the same amount of manure, otherwise the maize would not flourish well. In the tracts yielding only one crop of maize, the land was manured only once a year before sowing. Wheat producing areas in Ekfasli* lands were, however, manured every third or fourth year only. Inferior lands were manured only in case manure was available after superior lands had their full share, but the peasant tried his utmost to have his whole holding manured from time to time.

Ploughing : The chief instruments used in the tillage of soil were plough and Dali. The plough was made of wood, shod with iron, and was very light. It was generally drawn by bullocks which were occasionally replaced in Astore by ponies, if the former were not available.

Fields were generally ploughed after throwing seed and levelled immediately after to cover it, so that it might not be eaten up by birds. This process of levelling was done by Dali, which consisted of wooden planks bound together that were drawn by the bullocks over the ploughed fields. Dali was dispensed with in poor soils to save frequent watering of crops, and to prevent the top soil being washed away.

In the low-lying double-cropped areas sowing was done after the land had been ploughed twice or thrice, whereas in the tracts yielding one crop a year, and in the higher and colder regions, land lay fallow during autumn, and seed was thrown in spring, after which it was generally ploughed twice.

The sowing of Indian corn and China were preceded by two ploughings.

Trumba fields were once ploughed and left to weather for a few days before sowing, to admit the grass mixed with the soil to dry up.

Shali nurseries were manured, ploughed, and irrigated before sowing, and the system of transplanting was the same as followed in Kashmir.

Sowing : Time of sowing varied in different tracts. It generally commenced early in spring. In the low-lying estates, where wheat was succeeded by the Kharif crop of maize, wheat was sown from 15th November to 15th January at any time when the soil was not frosty. Maize was sown in July and August. In those villages where Grim was raised as the Rabi crop instead of wheat, the former was sown immediately after the 15th January, so as to get sufficient time for growing and harvesting maize in Kharif. In villages where Trumba succeeded Grim as the Kharif crop the sowing of important Rabi crops took place from the beginning of March to the middle of May. In the villages which were extremely cold and yielded only one crop a year, May was the month for sowing.

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*Lands producing only one crop in a year.

In villages lying in high altitudes, which yielded only one crop a year, the land had first to be cleared of snow by spreading earth over the fields in the beginning of April and sowing was commenced in May.

Late or yearly sowings generally gave bad crop everywhere.

Waterings : In the warm tracts of Gilgit the Rabi crops of wheat and Grim were sown in winter, and did not receive water until 20 days after the Nauroz day. They ripened with 10 to 12 waterings. Grim, however, took less time to mature than wheat, but it was more delicate, as, unlike the latter, it could not stand and survive without sufficient watering. Maize, China, Mash and Mung required 7 or 8 waterings but the crops grown in poor lands received more water before maturity.

In the snowy tracts sowings of wheat and Grim were begun rather late. The land being moist before sowing the crops ripened with 5 or 6 waterings.

Crops of Indian corn and Trumba in snowy tracts had to be watered 3 to 4 times before they matured. Timely rains were helpful to crops.

Weeding : Weeding was generally done by a small pointed piece of iron with a wooden handle, but weeds were rooted up at places without the help of any instrument. Crops of wheat, Grim, Trumba, China, and Kangni were weeded only once, whereas maize, cotton and Shali crops required two or more weedings according to the amount of weeds that were to be rooted up.

Cropping : The old lands near habitations had grown rich in soils after years of labour expended to improve them. They never failed to bear two-crops a year in the warm estates of the Agency.

In Astore and cold tracts of Gilgit land was double cropped, if the peasant could manage to supply sufficient manure and the locality was warm enough to allow seven months at least for cropping. Wheat and pulse which took long to mature were not succeeded by another crop in the same year, while gram was succeeded by Kangni, China, Trumba or turnips that ripened within three months of sowing. There were some tracts in Astore and Yasin which were extremely cold, and produced only one crop of wheat, Grim, peas, China or Trumba, etc. There were also many pieces of land of poor quality in Gilgit and Astore, which were left fallow for a year or two to recuperate vitality. They were generally situated far from the houses, and manure could not reach them without much difficulty.

In some villages of Gilgit, however, the supply of irrigation was so defective that the people had to leave uncropped part of their lands every year for want of irrigation.

Rotation of Crops : It was generally believed that crops thrived well under the rotation system. Dofasli* lands producing maize or other valuable crops in Kharif were left fallow at times during the Kharif or the Kharif crops were replaced by one of the crops of inferior kinds, growing of which did not exhaust materially the power of the soil. Grim was substituted for wheat at times as a matter of rotation. Ekfasli lands were also sometimes left fallow throughout the whole year, or the usual crop of wheat, Grim or maize was succeeded by another crop of less importance, to allow the land rest for a little while to recoup its lost vitality and power.

In the estates where the climate was extremely cold some two or three harvests of Grim were succeeded by a harvest of gram or Trumba, in order to give strength to the land.

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*Raising two crops a year.

Harvesting : Good crops were generally cut with sickle close to the roots, others were at times uprooted by softening the soil with watering of the fields a day or two before. In Dofasli estates Rabi crops were sown. They were allowed to lie in the fields in loosely bound sheaves, and the sowing of the Kharif crop was taken up in right earnest, otherwise it would get late, and little time would be left for the Kharif crops to mature before the onset of winter, and pits for storage of grain were also common.

In Astore the crops were cut before the first fall of snow.

The process of threshing was performed by ponies and donkeys as well as by cows. The straw was stored in houses. Grass and maize stalks were placed over the roofs, or amongst the branches of the neighbouring trees. Grains were generally stored in the houses, but Kottals of grain placed on the roofs were also met with in most of the villages.[1]

Measures for the improvement of Cultivation

Local produce in the Gilgit Agency was not adequate enough to meet the grain requirements of the Gilgit garrison. It was, therefore, supplied from Kashmir, which caused great strain. To relieve it, a corps of Sappers and Miners was deputed, in 1889, to Gilgit to make water channels, and bring land under cultivation. The corps started the construction of the Safed Parri and Chakarkot Maidan Kuhl (water channel). They worked on it for about two years, during which period they made the channel about five miles in length. During 1891, owing to the disturbances of Hunza and Nagar, the Sappers were recalled as their services were more essentially required in the said expedition. After this no steps were taken for the completion of the water channel. Work on it was, however, resumed in the beginning of 1913 and the channel was completed in 1917 at a cost of about Rs. 32,000.[2] The work was no doubt very difficult to be handled by any but a qualified Engineer. The Parri waste land measuring about 1320 acres

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1. *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, pp. 64-68.

2. JK 261/1-9 of 1912 ; *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, p. 35 ; AAR, 1912-13, p. 58.

lay along the Gilgit—Bandipur road nearly midway between Boonji and Gilgit, whilst the Chakarkot plateau of fairly level land measuring about 389 acres was situated on the left side of the Sai Nallah, not far from the Chakarkot village. The Kuhl, which was constructed to irrigate these two arid tracts, took its origin form the Sai Nallah at a point about four miles above the Jagot village. The Nallah had a permanent source of water supply from the big glacier. The quantity of water was plentiful and free from sand and clay, which were considered to be injurious both to the health of the people and the quality of soil.

The Kuhl stretched along the slope of the hill range for about 5 miles, crossed it through a natural pass, called "Galli" about 2000 feet above the level of the Parri plain, and branched off to a distance of about 2 miles towards Chakarkot Maidan. The Chakarkot branch also went along the slope of the hill, while the main Kuhl dropped down in a Nallah whence it was taken for a short distance along the hill over easy ground to reach another Nallah. It then ran along the bottom of the hill and tailed in a small waterless Nallah opposite Parri Bungalow which was 5½ miles off from the Galli. Thus the total length of the main Kuhl was 10½ miles only.

The maximum discharge of the Kuhl was 2½ feet, but the bands of the Kuhl being new and leaky, water could hardly be discharged more than 2 feet at the head in 1917. Half of the water was lost before it reached the Galli, and the volume was still further reduced to about 5 inches, before it got into the Chakarkot Maidan.

For the maintenance of the Kuhl the Darbar sanctioned an annual grant of Rs. 1,500. A gang of coolies headed by a Mate* was employed to look after the Kuhl, and execute necessary repairs to it whenever and wherever required. Their chief duty was to prevent the occasional leakages, and plant trees and grass along the banks, so that they might be strengthened to support full flow of water.[1] This water-channel was expected to yield an annual revenue of about Rs. 5,200.[1]

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*A contractor's employee who helps in obtaining labourers etc.

[1] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, pp. 35-36 ; AAR, 1912-13, p. 58.

The following Kuhls were repaired or constructed in the Agency from 19th of October, 1892, to 12th of June, 1894 :—

New Kuhls constructed : Chamagat Kuhl, Inathan-das Kuhl, Barmas Kuhl, Niltar Nallah Kuhls, Nomal Kuhl, Damot Tank, Boonji Kuhls, Lichre Kuhl, Ramghat Kuhl, Aliabad (Hunza) Kuhl, Ishkaman Valley Kuhl and Chaprote (Nagar) Kuhl. And Kuhls were repaired at Dewat, Partap-pur, Jutil, Gilgit, Rampur (Astore) and Chaprote.[2]

In December 1897 the Mukaddams and headmen of Burnar (Indus valley) agreed in writing to the British Agent in Gilgit that they would construct a proposed water channel from the Gunar Nallah and cultivate the land which would be watered thereby. They were to be assisted in the construction of this water channel by the skilled labour of the Gilgit cultivation company under the orders of the Commanding Royal Engineer. The undertaking of the Bunar people to cultivate these lands was very satisfactory, as a large area of land was expected to be brought under cultivation and the difficulty of obtaining supplies on the Boonji-Chilas road was expected to be greatly lessened.[3] Similarly, in November of the same year, the Gilgit authorities employed the Zamindars of Gilgit and the neighbouring villages in the work of repairing and enlarging the existing irrigation channel from Naupur, and after ten day's labour this work, which was of considerable local interest, was satisfactorily completed.[4]

In 1898-99 a scheme was proposed to irrigate, from the Thui Nallah, the Dasht-i-Taus plain three miles from Yasin.[5] It was a large and fertile plain, capable of supporting a village

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1. AAR, 1912-13, p. 58.
2. GOI, Fgn, Front-B, October 1894, Nos. 19-26.
3. GA Official Diary for the week ending 22nd December 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1898, Nos. 343-364.
4. GA Diary for the week ending 22nd November 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, January 1898, Nos. 282-298.
5. PA, G, to RK, No. 2727/21 of September 25, 1909, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, January 1910, Nos. 9-10.

of some 200 houses.[1] A certain amount of work was accomplished and a considerable sum of money spent by the Darbar, but eventually the project was given up.[2]

In 1907 work on the scheme was resumed, for owing to the increase in the population of the district, and scarcity of land in it, people from Yasin were emigrating in large numbers to Punial and other districts. This was not only a loss to the Governor of Yasin, but was politically unsound from the point of view of the Gilgit authorities in that it was in Yasin and Ghizar where difficulties of transport and supplies were likely to occur if any trouble should arise in Chitral or the passes to the north be threatened.[3] The work, however, was an uphill one and, besides, there was the paucity of funds. The construction of the Kuhl was, therefore, completed only in August 1931. The success in this venture was mainly because of the determination the then Governor of Yasin showed in pursuing this project ; he gained greatly in prestige with his people, who originally had thought that they were labouring at an impossibility.

And the land which was brought under the plough as a result of the completion of this project was generously distributed by the Governor of Yasin amongst the various communities which had worked on the channel. The Gilgit authorities took necessary steps to see that the Governor's family did not receive an excessive share and that neither they, nor any other favoured persons, were excused from the payment of revenue.[4]

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[1] GA, Diary for the month of November 1908, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, February 1909, Nos. 115-120.

[2] PA, G to RK, No. 2727/21 of September 25, 1909, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, January 1910, Nos. 9-10, GA, Diary for the week ending 18th June 1904, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, September 1904, Nos. 18-77.

[3] PA, G, to RK, No. 2727/21 of September 25, 1909, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, January 1910, Nos. 9-10 ; GA, Pol, Diary for the month of August 1931, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Sec, File No. 69-X of 1931 ; GA, Pol. Diary for the month of April 1932, GOI, Fgn, and Pol, File No. 113-X, Extl, of 1932.

[4] GA, Pol, Diary for the month of April 1932, GOI, Fgn, and Pol, File No. 113-X (Sec), Extl. of 1932.

In the year 1898, the State Government sanctioned a sum of Rs. 1,200/- for the construction of a 'very necessary'* water channel in the Agency, repayable in four years as proposed by the Political Agent, Gilgit. And Rs. 1545/9/- were spent, in 1900, on executing repairs to the Gunar Kuhl mentioned above.[1]

In May 1900 the water-course at Hatun was successfully repaired.[2] In 1902 the Sardar Kuhl in Gilgit was completed, and repairs to certain others were executed.[3]

In November 1903, a new water-course, some five miles in length, was constructed from the Nilt Nallah to Khinechi Dass in Nagar. It brought under cultivation a land which sufficed for the needs of at least 300 families. In the completion of this Kuhl Raja Sikandar Khan of Nagar exhibited prodigious energy. The Kuhl was commenced entirely on his own initiative and he spent a good deal of money thereon from his own pocket.[4]

In 1891, there was a great water channel which fertilised the Hunza oasis. On this channel the cultivation of Hunza proper entirely depended. Its head waters were some half a mile up the ravine, on the edge of which Hunza stood, a few hundred feet below the end of the glacier which fed it. For the whole of this half mile the water channel was a monument of patient labour, and of the clever adaptation of the rudest means to the most important end. It was carried across the face of a cliff, in some places of sheer rock, in others of hard conglomerate. Sometimes it ran along the top of a built-up wall thirty or forty feet high, at others through carefully excavated channels in the conglomerate which avoided the difficulties of a sharp corner by tunnelling through it. Where the face of the rock was perpendicular, and its foot washed by the torrent was unsuitable for the foundations of a retaining wall, the water flowed through timber troughs, supported by wooden brackets adroitly fixed into the cliff.[1] And, as already mentioned, another Kuhl was constructed at Aliabad in between 19th October 1892 and 12th June 1894. Similarly, two more canals were constructed in the year 1922—one at Raminj in the Chapursan valley of Gujhal and the other at Ghamisar, a place between Atabad and Ahmadabad. The land which the construction of these two channels made available was distributed amongst sixty families.[2] In 1923 another canal was constructed to irrigate the lower Sikandarabad land near Chalt bridge. It brought water to the big plain just above the Chalt bridge on the left bank of the Hunza river.[3] In the following year one more canal was constructed by the Mir from Mayun Nallah to irrigate land at upper Seko, opposite Sikandarabad. The cultivable land at this place was allotted to 33 Assamis by the Mir.[4]

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*The name of the Channel or of the area in which it was constructed is not given in the records.

[1] JK 37 of 1898 ; AAR, of Samvat year 1955, p. 121.

[2] GA, Pol, Diary for the week ending 22nd September 1900, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, November 1900, Nos. 170-193.

[3] AAR, of Samvat year 1960, p. 191.

[4] GA. Pol, Diary for the week ending 14th of November 1903, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, February 1904, Nos. 259-294.

Fixity of Tenure and Takkavi Advances

The Gilgit authorities, in order to hearten the cultivators to take more interest in the cultivation of land, gave them fixity of tenure. A declaration was issued promising occupancy rights to persons taking up the reclamation of waste and uncultivated lands, and advances were made to the cultivators on the system known as takkavi.[5] These advances, which consisted of loans made to Zamindars in cash and kind for agricultural improvement, and occasionally for the purchase of plough, cattle and seed, were sanctioned by the Governors of Kashmir and Jammu provinces for sums not exceeding Rs. 500 on one application, and by the Revenue Member of the State Council for larger sums. The advances did not, as a

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1. Col. Algernon Durand, p. 161.

2. GA, Pol. Diary for the month of May, 1922, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec-F, No. 57 of 1922-23.

3. GA, Pol, Diary for the month of June 1923, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec-F, Nos. 57 of 1922-23.

4. GA, Pol, Diary for the month of June 1924, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Sec, No. 36 of 1924.

5. JK 35 of 1893.

rule, bear interest and were usually repayable along with the land revenue in six half-yearly instalments. The advances were fully secured as they were regularised to be made on bonds whereby either land or other immovable property was hypothecated to the State till the complete repayment of the loan, or reliable security in some other form had to be furnished.[1]

Creation of a Coolie Corps

Another scheme which the Agency authorities carried out for improving agriculture in the Agency was to allow the cultivators of the Astore and Gilgit districts leisure to cultivate their lands. This was done by organizing, in 1893, a coolie corps 250 strong in the districts in question. For, many emergent works had to be carried on in the direction of Chilas and elsewhere for a few years after the Agency was re-established in 1889. Labour for these works was previously supplied by the villagers of these districts. These men were perpetually taken away from their fields and forced to work and carry loads in a hot climate. The result was that they lost heart, and far from improving and extending cultivation, they neglected their fields and allowed the land to its fate.[2] Creation of the coolie corps gave them the necessary relief.

Issuance of Quality Seed

In 1925 an attempt was made by the Gilgit authorities to introduce a better type of wheat into the Agency. After consultation with the Imperial Economic Botanist, Pusa (Bengal), a maund of wheat of the variety known as "Pusa 4" was obtained. It was claimed that it gave a good head and straw and was most important in this territory—resistant to rust.

Small quantities were issued to the Mirs of Hunza and Nagar, to the Governors of the Political districts, and to selected persons in Gilgit and Astore, and also to the Assistant Political Agent, Chilas. The conditions of the issue were that

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1. AAR, 1897-98, pp. 242-243.
2. JK 35 of 1893.

the seed should be sown in an average field, neither very good nor very bad, and that the rest of the field should be sown with a weighed quantity of ordinary seed grain ; manuring, watering and so on was to be crrried out in the normal way. At harvest time the grain and bhoosa obtained from the Pusa seed and from the ordinary seed was to be carefully weighed, so that an accurate comparison could be made.

The Mirs and others entered enthusiastically into the experiment, as they recognised its great economic importance to the Agency. All agreed that, if the experiment succeeded, the new grain was to be kept for seed purposes.

The results of the above experiment were received in the following year and though not very accurately kept owing to the ignorance of the users, showed that in the warm parts of the Agency, such as Chilas and Gilgit, produce of much better quality and considerably greater quantity might be expected than that obtained from the local seed. The results obtained in localities of 7,500 feet and over were not so satisfactory. There was no rust in the Agency in 1926, so it was not possible to test the resistance of the 'Pusa 4'. A valuable feature was that it ripened about a fortnight ahead of the local wheat.[1]

Ladakh

The Kashmir Darbar were the proprietor of all lands in Ladakh district, and the cultivators were merely occupancy tenants holding land in occupancy tenure direct from the state ; in other words the landholders had merely "Assami" rights.[2]

Almost all the Ladakhis were engaged in agriculture ; the number of artisans was very small indeed, and of shopkeepers of that race there were hardly any ; the shopkeepers of the town of Leh—the only town in the whole district,—were either of the half-castes or were strangers. Thus the greater part of the population of Ladakh were connected with the soil. The area cultivated by one family was from two to four acres. The sons of a family neither divided the heritage nor themselves separated, but they enjoyed the estate in common, in one household.[1]

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[1] GA, Pol, Diary for the month of November 1925, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, File No. 284-X (Sec.), Extl, of 1927.

[2] GOI, Fgn, Front-A, September 1904, Nos. 123-24.

The first step in the process of tillage was to clear the ground of its incumbrances, and, as far as possible, equalize the surface. The larger flocks of stone were left undisturbed, but the smaller fragments were collected and arranged in longitudinal piles or walls, traversing the face of the declivity, which every field more or less presented, forming a series of parallels, the space between which was made as level as possible by conveying materials from the upper to the lower edge of the slope. In this manner a succession of terraces was constructed, each supported by a stone breast-work, and down which stone channels communicating with some spring or natural reservoir on the higher ground conducted a plentiful supply of water. This was the disposition of the grounds in the vicinity of the villages and towns which were situated in the different valleys forming the inhabited and cultivable portion of Ladakh ; but even in the solitary spots, remote from human habitations, stone dikes might be observed crossing the sloping sides of mountains near their base : these were constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows, and they were thus left for many years, perhaps for some generations, for the operation of natural agency to prepare for the labour of man, and the more ready conversion of an abrupt and steril declivity into an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

Upon the field thus gained from the mountain soil had to be, in the first instance, supplied, and afterwards enriched, by manure.[2] Ten to twelve maunds was considered the standard manure of one Khal of land, but many poor Assamis could not afford this and went much below the standard. Grim was the best manured crop in the whole of the district of Ladakh, but Zamindars of Leh supplied the same amount of manure

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1. Drew, Frederic, p. 245.
2. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 270-271.

to wheat. Barley came next, while the other crops required no manures. Crops did not flourish here in the absence of manure, it was, therefore, husbanded with great care and supplied to every field.[1]

According to the dryness of the ground water was let in, either previous or subsequent to the first ploughing. After the land had been once ploughed, the manure, brought in sacks upon assess to the field, was spread over it.[2] The seed was then sown, in some villages broadcast but in the rest of the country it was poured into the furrow in a much larger quantity. The cultivators of Ladakh were of the view that it was necessary to sow a large quantity of seed in higher villages to make allowance for possible failures, as a part of the seed grain often failed to germinate on account of cold. After sowing the seed, a second ploughing took place.

Ploughing was done, as has been mentioned above, only twice, which was quite insufficient, but cultivators could not afford to do more, as the number of plough bullocks was very small. The first ploughing was sometimes dispensed with by a poor Assami, who barely scratched the surface of the soil only once at the time of sowing.[3]

Oxen of the common kind were not used for ploughing, the Zo Ox being greatly preferred. While ploughing, the Zos were driven by the ploughman without reins, but guided, when well broken in, with the utmost precision, by the voice or by a willow wand.

The plough was entirely of wood, generally willow, save the point, which was formed by a small piece of iron. The whole structure was simple, unexpensive, and the instrument was little liable to be out of repair, excepting the point, which, from the softness of the metal, required to be frequently sharpened. The furrow made was superficial in mellow lands, even not exceeding four or five inches from the top of the ridge to the bottom angle, but the clods were broken, and the earth was made almost as fine as for garden culture, and the seed was covered with special care.

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[1] *Assessment Report of the Ladakh Tehsil* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1909, p. 12.

[2] Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 272.

[3] *Assessment Report of the Ladakh Tehsil* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1909, p. 12.

The necessity of taking advantage of every available article for the food of the cattle led to a regular and effective mode of weeding the corn fields, and when the corn had been sown for about three weeks, women and children were turned into the field every morning to collect the grass and weeds springing up with the grain. No harm resulted from this process, and although the stems were for a little time disturbed by the footsteps of the weeders, they were never trodden down, and recovered their erect position in a few hours after the field had been watered. The regular removal of the weeds gave the corn the benefit of the whole power of the soil and admitted the access of light and air to the roots of the plants.[1]

The seed was sown in May, and the crops were cut in September before the first fall of snow. The crops were either pulled up by the roots or cut close to the roots, with a Zorpa, or sickle, to get as much straw as possible for the winter fodder of the cattle. When cut, it was generally spread-out on the ground to ripen and dry, but occasionally it was loosely bound in sheaves.[2]

There was no customary rotation of crops in vogue in Ladakh, except that wheat was not grown on the same soil for more than two or three years, as wheat was believed to weaken the soil. Wheat was often followed by Grim, but if the soil was much impoverished, peas or Sarshaf were sown for a year, as the roots and leaves of peas were believed to strengthen the soil, while Sarshaf was a crop of a very short duration, and the rest thus allowed renovated exhausted strength of the soil. Also wheat was a crop of the longest duration, and allowed no time for a second crop. Hence preference was given in Dofasli villages to Grim, which was followed by Trumba, China or Kangni.[3] The following crops

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1. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 273-274.
2. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 224.
3. *Assessment Report of the Ladakh Tehsil* by Chaudhari Khush Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1909, p. 12.

were grown in Ladakh :—

Grim (Sherok in Ladakhi) : It flourished upto a height of 14,500 feet above the sea level. In a few villages it grew up to a height of even 15,000 feet but the crop was uncertain in such villages. In Dofasli villages it was followed by Trumba or vegetables. Grim was the principal food grain. It was considered more substantial than wheat or Barley, its cultivation was attended with much labour and manure and it was sown in the best soil.

Wheat (To in Ladakhi) : It flourished well up to a height of 12,000 feet, and grew up to even 12,800 feet. After Grim, wheat was the most important Rabi crop. But the agriculturists in Ladakh did not see any virtue in wheat and preferred Grim as food. They, however, found that it fetched a better price than Grim, and was much appreciated by officials, visitors and traders. Hence its cultivation in Ladakh.

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Barley (Soa in Ladakhi) : It grew at about the same height as wheat. It was of two or three species.

Peas (Shauma in Ladakhi) : It was a fairly hardy crop and flourished in the higher as well as in the lower valleys.

Ol was the favourite fodder crop of this country and was once sown after a long term of years. Masur, Sarshaf and tobacco were also grown to a small extent. Potatoes were produced in a few fields in Leh. Trumba was the only Kharif crop and was only grown in a few villages in the lower parts of the Indus and Nubra valleys. Experiments had shown that potatoes and root crops such as raddish, carrots, turnips and most of the vegetables could be successfully grown in Leh. Maize, gram and melons did not thrive well and failed to mature. Other crops grown in Ladakh were : lucerne, buckwheat, murne, prangos and mustard.

The area under vegetables was insignificant and the crop was generally precarious and chiefly used for home consumption. Vegetables were sold to a small extent in Leh by three or four adjoining villages.[1]

Fruits

Apricots, apples, walnuts, mulberries, vines, cherries, quinces, pomegranates, sarsinches, berries etc. were grown.[2]

Of apricots there were ten varieties, and they certainly presented much difference in size, shape, flavour, colour, and surface. They were all standards, and were raised from the stone with one exception, which was multiplied by inoculation. This was a small fruit not much larger than a walnut, somewhat flattened at top and bottom, of a glossy skin, and pale yellow colour, inclining to white, which changed to a reddish brown where it faced the sun. The pulp was of the usual consistence next the skin, but became softer as it receded, and next the stone was little thicker than honey in the comb. The whole fruit partook of the lusciousness of honey, combined with a slight and agreeable bitter, and the flavour was unsurpassed by any variety of apricot. The stone was of a light yellow colour, approaching to white.

There were two other kinds of apricot. One had a smooth shining surface, without down, was round, and of the size of a greengage, and held, both in appearance and taste, a middle station between an apricot and plum. The third was a little larger than the preceding, with a short down on the skin, which was of a redder colour. The stones of both these kinds were of a dark brown, bordering on black. The other varieties were deficient in juice and flavour, acid, or mealy and were fit only for drying and preserving. The trees blossomed in April and May. Much fruit was gathered in August, but the season was not over before the end of September. The greater part of the

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1. *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1908, p. 12; *Assessment Report of Ladakh Tehsil* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1909, pp. 14-15; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 197; Drew, Frederic, p. 246; *A Handbook of the Jammu and Kashmir State, 1949*, p. 3; British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246, December 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front, A, June 1887, Nos. 97-108.

2. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 219; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 295; *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1908, p. 12.

fruit was dried in the sun, in which state it remained good for many years, and was stored for home consumption, or exported to Lhasa and Tartary.[1] Oil was also extracted from apricots, but most of this was locally consumed, and a very small portion was sold to traders and others.[2]

The apple-trees were of several varieties : some of them were engrafted, but the greater number were wildings : they bore freely, endured great cold and intense heat, required little rain, and were very rarely attacked by disease. The ordinary fruit was of the middle size, rather oval than round, of very regular shape, and of great beauty and variety of colour : it was very juicy, and of an agreeable, though not very decided flavour, and the pulp was light, without being at all woolly. They were ripe in September, and were kept in very good preservation through the winter.[3]

The grapes were much inferior to the splendid fruit of Kashmir, but they had a peculiarity : the same bunch would yield large grapes an inch and a half in length, and small round seedless grapes like black currants. The latter were dried in the sun, and found their way to the Simla bazaar, where they were kept by the merchants in large earthen ware jars, duly labelled as "fine Zante Currants", and sold, in 1846, at the rate of two rupees a pound, the proper price being about one quarter of a rupee per pound.[4]

The sarsinch was a tree which yielded a fragrant flower and agreeable fruit. It grew no farther eastward in Ladakh than at Ayu, a village about four miles from Leh, but it was constantly found in the vicinity of the villages of the wester districts, and extended northwards to the foot of the Muz Tagh mountains. It was a tall slender tree, rising sometimes to the height of forty feet, and not exceeding a foot in diameter. The leaves were something similar to the myrtle, and

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1. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 295-97.

2. *Assessment Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1909, p. 22-23.

3. Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 297-98.

4. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 219-220.

were either dark-green, or were covered with a short white down, so that when agitated by the wind the foliage bore some affinity to that of the Protea. It bore a minute yellow flower, which in the season emitted a diffusive and most delicious fragrance, and was highly prized as a perfume by the natives. The fruit when ripe was of a cream colour, or yellow, or orange, according as it had been exposed to the sun. The skin was thin and shining, the stone long and narrow, and the space between it and the rind filled by a sweetish and mealy pulp. Its produce was scanty and was at once consumed.

The berry was a small round orange-coloured wild fruit. It was produced in great abundance by a prickly shrub called Chirma, or Chasta Ruru. The fruit was too acid to be eaten, although the flavour was agreeable, but the plant flourished through the winter, and the berries were a great resource to the smaller birds.

These were the only fruits cultivated in Ladakh, but grapes were imported from Kashmir and melons from Yarkand.[1]

Measures for the Improvement of Agriculture

In 1892-93, the Kashmir Government accorded sanction to a proposal by the Wazir-i-Wazarat, Ladakh, for repairing four water-courses in Ladakh. These Kuhls were to be repaired by villagers at an estimated cost of 200 maunds of wheat.[2] And in the year 1902 repairs were executed to the Kuhl leading to Baru and Manji villages in Kargil Tehsil by the Zamindars, with State help given in the shape of gunpowder and tools.[3]

Towards the close of 1908 the Tehsildar of Ladakh, M. Hashmet-ullah Khan, started, with the sanction of the Kashmir Darbar, the construction of a canal from the Wakha stream to the Karbathang plateau, and completed the project in January 1913. The channel was 10½ miles in length, 4 feet in width at the bottom, 6 feet at the top and 4 feet deep. The area which this canal brought under cultivation was 2371½ acres with a possible revenue of Rs. 6,000/- per annum.

[1] Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 298-300.

[2] AAR, of Samvat year 1949 (or 1892-93 A.D.).

[3] AAR, of Samvat years 1958-60, p. 191.

This area was at the junction of (a) the Kargil-Srinagar, (b) the Kargil-Leh-Yarkand, and (c) the Kargil-Skardu roads and there was, therefore, a ready market for the sale of grain. The irrigation of this area did away with the grain difficulty on the Treaty High Road and caused an expansion of the Central Asian Trade which had languished owing to want of grain.

The plateau was colonized by people from Ladakh, Sooroo, Karthang and other Illaqas under rules framed by the authorities for the purpose.[1]

In 1915-16, there was an increase of 108 acres in Ladakh due to improved irrigation facilities.[2] Similarly, in 1922 and 1924-25, 35 and 58 acres were brought under cultivation respectively.[3]

Advancement of Taccavi Loans

Taccavi loans were issued to the agriculturists by the Darbar as was done in Dardistan, and for precisely similar purposes. Thus, for instance, in 1903-04 the Ladakhi husbandmen received Rs. 2,618 and 14 annas.[4]

Agricultural Experiments

Owing to the existence of trade between India and Central Asia through Ladakh, there was rather a criminal demand for grain and fodder on the Treaty High Road which it had become difficult for the Darbar to meet from local supplies ; and there was little prospect of any substantial increase in these local supplies without a large increase in the area under cultivation which it was impossible to effect overnight. It was, however, deemed possible to improve crops by introducing seeds of superior qualities.

Accordingly, the Superintendent of the Moravian Mission, Peter, discussed sometime in the spring of 1907 the possibilities of crop improvements in the district with the Wazir-i-Wazarat. And ever since the former started a small experimental farm in

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1. JK, 192/1-9 of 1908. For the rules see appendix No. IV.
2. AAR, 1915-16, p. 11.
3. AAR, 1920-23, p. 65 ; AAR, 1924-25, p. 19.
4. AAR, of Samvat years 1958-60, p. 191.

Leh but he was not able to do very much owing to lack of funds. He, however, was confident that he could make experiments on a useful scale if he was given funds for the purpose. Under the circumstances, the Assistant to the Resident for Leh recommended to the Darbar, in July 1907, that Peter be given some financial assistance every year to enable him to carry on his experiments with oats, French potatoes, etc. The Maharaja sanctioned Rs. 50/- as grant-in-aid for the purpose during the year 1908. In the subsequent years however Rs. 100/- were to be given for three years provided the first year's experiment proved to be satisfactory and useful. In the year 1908 there was also a proposal with the Assistant to the Resident for Leh for obtaining seeds from Canada through the Director of Agriculture in India, for experimentation purposes in Leh.[1]

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[1] JK, 100/H-114 of 1907.

8

Means of Transport and Communication

Dardistan

The chief requisite for the material prosperity of a country is a sound system of transport and communication. It is through this requisite that the isolation of the different parts of a country is broken, villages are brought into closer contact with the towns and cities, trade is encouraged, agricultural, mineral and industrial resources are speedily developed and the effects of such natural calamities as earth quakes, floods and famines are mitigated. In a word, it is through the blessings of good means of transport and communication that a backward country is brought at par with the civilised and advanced one.

The provision of these facilities, however, greatly depends upon the physical features and the financial resources of a country. But the State of Jammu and Kashmir was unfortunately placed in a very disadvantageous position in this respect. It was on the whole mountainous and this fact made the building of roads both costly and difficult. There was then the problem not only of building bridges and culverts over the numerous rivers and streams, but also protecting them from land-slides and floods. The snowfall in the higher areas during the winter was liable to create traffic blockade for days together.

The result of all these natural difficulties was that transportation and travelling in the different parts of the State was difficult and time-consuming, and it was more so in

Dardistan and Ladakh as these territories were remoter and more mountainous.[1]

Roads

The Gilgit Road : The most generally known Gilgit road was that which ran from Srinagar to Gilgit, a distance of about two hundred and twenty-five miles—fifteen marches. Until close on the end of the 19th century, the mere mention of the Gilgit road to a Kashmiri villager terrified not only him but his whole family, for at Gilgit a garrison was maintained by the Kashmir State ; this had to be kept furnished, and forced labour—known as "Begar"—was "recruited" for the work. The so-called road was then but a rough track which was quite impassable for any except the coolie transport. Under the circumstances, the coolies had to carry the loads, and the Kashmir State sepoys press-ganged these men from outside the city. On tidings reaching the villages that the soldiers were searching out coolies, there was a general stampede among the villagers. The able-bodied men and usually the whole village made for the hills or forests leaving only the very old and the sick behind. There they would remain until all possibility of the men being taken had passed. If they were so hapless as to be caught unawares, only large bribes would buy the sepoys off, for the rest, families bewailed and prayed. Even then the aged fathers would not give up hope and follcwed the troops to where they had collected, for many more men than were needed were brought to that centre, and here a few could still be bribed out. It was known that a large percentage would never return to their families. The years thinned the breadwinners, the fields were tended and the crops gathered by the old and very young.

The hundreds of coolies were collected together at Bandipura ; here they were loaded up with the sacks of food for the garrison, loads which were two and even three times the recognised pack of fifty pounds. In addition to this they had to carry their own rations, these being about two pounds of rice per day, a carrying crutch, a frame of sticks, rope for the back load, and topping all, a bundle of straw with which to make the straw shoes they would need. Their clothes and protection consisted of whatever they had brought for themselves ; most had somehow managed to bring a blanket. It is little wonder that dozens died on the way, as they crossed the snow passes, slipped on the rough track , or dropped from weakness and exposure.

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[1] Boys, H.S., *Seven Hundred Miles in Kashmir*, 1886, p. 38 ; Eckenstein, Oscar, *Karakorams and Kashmir*, 1896, p. 236 ; Neve, Arthur, *Picturesque Kashmir*, 1900, p. 2 ; Younghusband, Sir Francis, *Kashmir*, 1909, p. 177.

The dreadful thing was that even when they eventually reached Gilgit there was always the chance that they would be sold into slavery or captured by the tribesmen of that part. Tyndale—Biscoe tells of the grandfather of one of his servants, who had been forced to make this march, being exchanged for a Chinese dog ; later he escaped and somehow managed to return to the valley to tell his story. And it was not unusual for these fortunate ones who were returning to be press-ganged again to carry loads that dead or sick men in caravans following had dropped ; whilst there was no assurance that next year they might not again be taken.[1] The track was, therefore, remembered as "the Siberia of Kashmir"[2] and "the journey of death".[3]

What precipitated the construction of the new road was the threat of the Russian advance into India through Kashmir. In the words of Colonel Algernon Durand : "She had advanced practically to the Hindukush : it was necessary to see that she did not cross it".[4] To meet this menace from the Zarist regime the Government of India decided to improve the transport facilities from India to the borders of Kashmir. The road

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1. Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 222 ; Knight, E.F., p. 287 ; Etherton, P.T., *Across the Roof of the World*, 1911, p. 21 ; Keay, John, *The Gilgit Game*, 1979, p. 101.

2. Knight, E.F., p. 303 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, "From Kotayam to Karachi", Vol. XV, 1908, p. 78 ; Norris, Dermot, *Kashmir : The Switzerland of India*, 1932, p. 94.

3. Biscoe, C.E., Tyndale, *An Autobiography*, 1951, p. 126.

4. GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, July 1887, Nos. 1-9 ; Col. Algernon Durand, p. 41.

was to be 10 feet wide and to link Bandipur and Gilgit, a distance of 190 miles.[1] Its construction was entrusted to Spedding and Company who started the work in 1890. Although in the first year not more than 30 miles of the road could be constructed[2], the work was pushed on with greater vigour during the next two years and brought to a completion in 1893[3] at a total cost of about 15 lakhs of rupees.[4] With its construction and the subsequent reorganisation of a transport service, the worst incidence of the forced labour disappeared.[5]

The making of the road in those days was a great engineering achievement in the short space of time that it took. Pathans from the North-West frontier were used for the work, at times they worked with spade in the hand and rifle at their elbow, the way being through tribal areas where the peoples resented the making of a road ; but despite all the difficulties it was completed.[6] It was, however, still fit for pack animals during the summer and autumn only as in the winter the snowfall on the high passes was heavy and danger from avalanches sometimes very great.[7]

The Abbotabad-Chilas Road : Gilgit was a dangerously isolated post and it was an uphill task to reinforce and supply it by the route from Srinagar. Under the circumstances, the Government of India obtained, in September 1893, the sanction of the Home Government for opening up an alternative route from Chilas to Abbotabad over the Babusar pass at the top of the Kagan Glen in Hazara. This road, besides lying, for first 130 miles from Abbotabad, in British territory, had the advantage of being 140 miles shorter ; less exposed to the difficulties arising from excessive altitude, and open during a larger portion of the year than the existing route via Gurais, Astore and Boonji. A battalion of Bengal Infantry (Pioneers) were added to the strength of the Agency garrison and pressed into service by the British Agent for the construction of the road directly the Home Government approved the scheme.[1] It became ready in a couple of years, and prosperous Zamindars of the frontier started travelling by it to Rawalpindi and other places in India for trade purposes.[2] The entire cost of the construction of this road was borne by the Imperial Government.[3]

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[1] AAR, 1889-90, p. 125.

[2] AAR, 1890-91, p. 116-17.

[3] AAR, 1892-93, p. 90 ; AAR, 1893-94, p. 61 ; AAR, 1894-95, p. 72.

[4] *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, "Provincial Series, Kashmir and Jammu", 1909, p. 7 (Available in NAI).

[5] Norris, Dermot, *Kashmir : The Switzerland of India*, 1932, p. 94.

[6] GOI, Fgn, Front-A, May 1893, Nos. 1-8 ; GOI, Fgn, Front-A, September 1893, Nos. 40-42 ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, pp. 222-23.

[7] Norris, Dermot, *Kashmir : The Switzerland of India*, 1932, p. 94.

There was a road from Hunza to the Shimshal pass, a distance of about 80 miles (locally 40 Kos). This was only used by foot-passengers, no cattle being able to traverse it owing to its being in the bed of a stream, which was frozen in the winter and full of water in the summer. Another road ran from Hunza to the Kilik pass, a distance of about 90 miles.

The latter was used almost throughout the year, chiefly by traders from Yarkand and Badakhshan, who were in no way taxed by the Hunza people.[4]

In March, 1878, the Kashmir Sappers and Miners constructed a road between Nomal and Chaprote.[5] In the spring of 1891 Colonel Algernon Durand built a good six foot road between Gilgit and Nomal. He also opened a mule road between Gilgit and Boonji, a distance of thirty miles, during the same year.[6] A 46 miles long mule road from Ramghat to Chilas and a road from Skardu to Boonji were built during 1893-94.[7] At the end of the year 1899 the Gupis-Shandur Road was completed.[8] The Gilgit-Haramosh Road was comple-

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1. SSI to Government of India, No. 34 (Sec), September 1, 1893, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, October 1893, Nos. 240-55; Douie, Sir James, *The Punjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*, p. 323.
2. AAR, 1904-05, p. 7.
3. PA, G, to Assistant RK, No. 1230 of May 21, 1901, JK 115/F-53 of 1900.
4. *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 370.
5. Gilgit Diary No. 15 of March 28, 1878, GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1878, Nos. 53-94.
6. Col. Algernon Durand, p. 233.
7. GA Diary for the week ending 16th May, 1893, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, July 1893, Nos. 742-61 ; AAR, 1893-94, pp. 62-64.
8. GOI, Fgn, Front-A, March 1902, Nos. 48-59.

ted in 1906.[1] And the Partap Pull Gandak Nallah Road was completed in 1916-17 at a total outlay of Rs. 1,06,519 ; it afforded a direct and safe route from Gilgit to Chilas.[2]

In August 1918 the Government of India authorised the British Agent to construct a road from Baltit to Misgar in Hunza. The road was to be constructed along the right bank of the Hunza river throughout ; its estimated cost was roughly Rs. 15,000, and it was intended to be a track passable at all times for loaded coolies for carriage of telegraph stores, repair materials, etc. And in 1923-24 a road for baggage camels was constructed from Gilgit to Gupis at an outlay of Rs. 13,513.

In Hunza and Nagar a common object by the roadside was a small hut with an opening which resembled a square window or low door, on a level with the road, below which was a pit filled with water from a neighbouring Kuhl, or sometimes the stream itself flowed below. This was a Ghurk, and by it lay a square wooden box, with a long handle which was the ladle or dipper, known as a Tanus. The thirsty traveller dipped it in, and drank the cold water. To build a Ghurk was a meritorious action, and was often done as a memorial to some dead relative, and many a departed rascal had been thus commemorated. The Ghurk could hardly be called hygienic. Every living creature from man to dog drank from it ; and the ladle lay outside, exposed to every infection. But the people of Dardistan and of Nagar in particular did not worry over such trifles.[3]

Another good work was to build a Baldi, a small verandah for rest and shelter by the roadside. And men were commemorated in this way.[4]

Bridges

Communication was maintained over the rivers at certain points by hanging bridges of plaited bird twigs—a means of crossing which tried the steadiest nerves.

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[1] Annual Administration Report of PWD, 1906-07, p. 10.

[2] AAR, 1916-17, p. 57.

[3] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, pp. 98-99.

[4] *Ibid.*

The bridge was formed of nine plaits of twigs, suspended across the river at a suitable place where the stream flowed between precipitous rocks. The plaits were bound together at intervals by trees. One triple plait formed the foothold about 5 inches wide ; the others formed a hand-rail on either side about 2 feet above the middle plait, and held apart at intervals by forked sticks which had to be straddled over in crossing. There was not a nail or piece of rope in the whole structure ; the ends were secured round logs of wood held in their places by heaped-up rocks. The whole bridge swayed about with every gust, making it very unpleasant to cross in a high wind ; and when the river, as often happened, required a span of over 300 feet, the steadiest nerves felt the trial. As no great strain could be put on the twig plaits, there was always a dip in the middle ; and when, as not unfrequently happened, one bank was considerably higher than the other, the difficulty of crossing was greatly enhanced by the steep incline. Where there was much traffic, these bridges were renewed yearly ; but where little used, they were left for two or three years without repair, and became very dangerous. Notwithstanding their fragile appearance, they were safe enough when renewed yearly, and accidents were few. A good twig bridge could bear ten or twelve persons at once with ease. Men accustomed to them carried large and cumbrous loads across, and passed and repassed each other on them without fear ; and accidents by falling from them were unknown. There were even known cases of men being carried across a twig bridge on the backs of others. Sheep and calves were also carried across on men's shoulders.[1]

There was yet another type of bridges, the one strand bridge made of leather. On the strand, there was poised a V-shape stick upside down with a loop of rope at each extremity of the V. One had to put his legs through the V and hang on with one hand to the stick, while with the other one pulled a lanyard which ran through a pully on the opposite side. The impetus with which one descended to the sag of the rope took one some of the way up and the rest of the journey was accomplished

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1. **Major John Biddulph, pp. 2-3.**

with the help of the lanyard. The villagers took their sheep, goats and sometimes ponies also across over this bridge. They tied together the animal's four legs and then hung it from the V-shaped runner and thus hauled it across.[1]

In May 1893 the Ramghat bridge over the Astore river was completed by the Kashmir Darbar, and the following month saw the completion of the construction of a suspension bridge over the Indus river at Boonji. It was named the Partap Singh bridge. It was built of steel wire ropes imported direct from England with masonry abutements and wooden girders and a span of 329 feet. The bridge could stand a strain of 500 lbs per foot.[2] Besides, the Darbar started maintaining ferry establishments at Boonji and Chilas since 1894. The ferry was a raft of skins till 1901 in which year it was replaced by a boat requiring replacement at intervals of several years.[3]

In 1900 a suspension bridge was constructed at Gupis.[4] The construction of the Chalt suspension bridge was completed in 1903-04 at a total cost of Rs. 19,253.[5] On the 8th of June, 1905, a glacier dam burst out in the Ishkaman valley, causing violent floods in the Gilgit river. The old suspension bridge over the river was washed away. An estimate amounting to Rs. 49,858 was, therefore, sanctioned by the State Council for the construction of a new bridge with a 532' span. The work was commenced and completed within the year at an outlay of Rs. 51,014.[6] In 1920 two bridges on Rattu Nallah were constructed.[7]

There was a temporary suspension bridge over the Jallipur Nallah on Gilgit-Chilas Road which was of a faulty construction. It was visited by avalanches and mud floods which

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1. Biscoe, C.E., Tyndale, *An Autobiography*, 1951, pp. 35-36 ; Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, 1912, p. 127.

2. GOI, Fgn, Front-B, July 1893, No. 111.

3. Lt. Col. J.L.R. Weir to Fgn. Secy. J and K Government, No. D-5620/20 of August 14, 1928, JK 189/H.P.R III of 1921.

4. AAR of Samvat year 1957, p. 446.

5. Report of the Public Works Department of J and K Government for 1903-04, p. 9.

6. JK 11 of 1905 ; AAR, 1905-06, p. 90.

7. Annual Administration Report of the Public Works Department of the J and K Government for 1920, p. 3.

rendered the bridge unfordable in the afternoons in summer. It was very necessary to reconstruct the bridge and an estimate for the work amounting to Rs. 18,755 was sanctioned by the Government of India in the spring of 1923. The work was put in hand and completed before the year was out at an expenditure of Rs. 11 824.[1] In 1925-26 a suspension bridge was constructed over the Gupis river at an outlay of Rs. 45,674.[2] Similarly, the construction of the Lous Suspension Bridge was completed in the Samvat year 1988-89, and that of Tashote Suspension Bridge on Gilgit-Hunza Road in 1989-90.[3]

Protection of Bridges

With a view to protecting bridges, the following order was enforced all through the Agency area :

"In future the care and protection of all bridges will be left entirely in the hands of the people of the country, *i.e.* if any bridge has been found to have been maliciously damaged or if any nuts or screws or any other accessories of the bridge are removed or stolen, the nearest village or villages will be held responsible for the damage or loss, as the case may be, unless they can prove the guilt to some one else".[4]

People found guilty of violating the above order were to be punished in the Gilgit Wazarat by the Wazir-i-Wazarat and in the political Illaqas by the Political Agent.[5]

Telegraphs

In Samvat year 1934, the Maharaja of Kashmir, Ranbir Singh, thought of connecting Gilgit with Srinagar by a telegraphic line and desired to be in direct touch with all matters on the frontier. To enable himself to execute this intention of his, he asked the Punjab Government for the services of an experienced officer. The Punjab Government obliged him and deputed one G.W. Dothey as on Special Duty. Necessary instruments were sent for. Dothey took up the work and started operations in this connection from Bandipur to Gurez. To help this officer in his telegraphic operations a regiment of troops was sent with him to make the work possible. Bakshi Shankar Dass, an English-knowing man, was also sent with him as Manager of the Camp.

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[1] Administration Report on the Roads and Buildings Department of the J and K Government for the years 1923-24, p. 16.

[2] AAR, 1925-26, p. 52.

[3] AAR of Samvat years 1988-90, p. 33.

[4] JK 115/B-133 of 1914.

[5] *Ibid.*

Signallers were required soon after the work was brought to its completion. There was no English-knowing youngman available in the State. The idea of importing outsiders was not liked or cherished by the Maharaja. Nor could he ever be influenced by anybody. The court language being Persian and Urdu, it would have been a source of great trouble to receive telegrams in English. After Dothey's departure to Gilgit, the Maharaja had asked one Babu Gopal Dass, an Assistant Engineer, to open a class of local youngmen and get them trained in signalling as he knew this work. Well educated youngmen could only be found in Kashmiri Pandits. Babu Gopal Dass had, therefore, to make a selection mostly from among the Kashmiri Pandits and as a special case one Dogra was selected ; these youngmen were in a very short time trained in signalling.

Sanskrit script was made the medium for telegrams as was desired by the Maharaja, who favoured the introduction of this script in the courts. Afterwards, he substituted Urdu for Sanskrit as script in telegrams.

In Samvat year 1938, the extension of the telegraphic line from Gurez to Gilgit, through Astore and Boonji, was completed under the supervision of one Babu Kishen Lal.[1]

The line in question, however, was not at all reliable. During the winter all communication with the outer world was most precarious, and in cloudy weather posts were sometimes unable to cross the passes for a fortnight at a time.[2] On account of the political developments on the State borders, as has been mentioned before, the Government of India had linked Bandipur with Gilgit by a good road. These political activities of the Russians on the northern frontier of India obliged

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1. Raina, J.L., *Means of Communication in the Last Century in the Kashmir and How the Control Passed into British Hands*, 1926, pp. 14-17.
2. GOI, Fgn, Front-A, September 1890, Nos. 1-7.

the British Government, in 1891, also to think in terms of establishing a reliable telegraph communication with Gilgit. After examining the various routes between Srinagar and Gilgit, the one via Tragbal (11,900 feet) and Burzil (13,500 feet) was selected. To push this work speedily through, the Indian Telegraphs Department took over from the State Government in October 1892 the full responsibility of constructing and controlling the State Telegraphs System.[1]

The task of constructing the line in the frontier district was very difficult ; the workers had to execute the job at great heights and in the winter under snow. But still, starting towards the end of August 1892, a distance of 44 miles up to the Tragbal pass was covered before the winter set in. Working thereafter also with vigour, the telegraph line from Srinagar to Gilgit was completed and opened in 1894. The same year a Telegraph Office was opened at Gilgit for the ordinary traffic also and thus a direct and instantaneous communication was established between Gilgit and Lahore (through Srinagar). Formerly, the telegraph messages from Gilgit to India had to be repeated first at Skardu and again at Srinagar which procedure took days and in the winter even months. Now these could be exchanged between Gilgit and Simla or Calcutta in a few hours.[3]

In June 1903, the Government of India gave sanction for the construction of a Telegraph line between Gilgit and Chitral.[3] The Telegraph Department commenced the work in the following month[4], completing it by the close of November.[5] And a temporary telegraph line was constructed between Gilgit and Aliabad in July, 1907.[1]

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[1] Report on Telegraph Operations in Kashmir from 1891 to 1895, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, November 1895, Nos. 79-82 ; GOI, Fgn, Front-B, October 1892, Nos. 67-104 ; GOI, Fgn, Front-B, December 1894, Nos. 82-85 ; JK, 67 of 1892.

[2] Report on Telegraph Operations in Kashmir from 1891 to 1895, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, November 1895, Nos. 79-82.

[3] Mil Department of Government of India to the Secy. Defence Committee, No. 644, February 28, 1903, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, June 1903, Nos. 240-41.

[4] GA Pol. Diary for the week ending July 18, 1903, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, November 1903, Nos. 144-81.

[5] GOI, Fgn, Front-B, February 1904, Nos. 259-94.

Telephone Services

Telephone services were also made available to the Agency area by the British authorities. These services were essential for doing clamant business.

The Chilas-Boonji Line

In April, 1914, the Political Agent, Gilgit, submitted, through the Resident in Kashmir, a proposal to the Government of India for the utilization of the telegraph line between Chilas and Boonji for purposes of telephonic communication between Chilas and the Bunar and Jallipur posts which lay on the main Indus Valley Road.

The estimated cost of installing the telephone, when compared with its advantages, which are given below, was small.

The distance between Chilas and Boonji by the Main Indus Valley Road was 53 miles and the stages were as folows :

Boonji to Leychar	... 13 miles
Leychar to Jallipur	... 14 miles
Jallipur to Bunar	... 10 miles
Bunar to Chilas	... 16 miles.

At each of these stages enroute *viz*. Leychar, Jallipur and Bunar a levy post of three men under a levy Havildar was maintained. These posts served to guard the road, supervise the postal arrangements (which from Leychar onwards were under the supervision of the Assistant Political Agent in Chilas) and, in particular, to keep up communication with the various communities which happened to be situated in their vicinity.

Thus for example Bunar post lay at the mouth of the Bunar valley which contained one of the Chilas republic communities and orders or summons or communications between the Headquarters of the Assistant Political Agent, Chilas, and this valley were brought by levy to Bunar and were thence taken up the valley to their destination which might be 20 miles or more distant.

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[1] GOI, Fgn, Front-B, November 1907, Nos. 83-109.

Jallipur post similarly existed in maintaining communication with the large republic of Gor which lay about 10 miles off the post at an elevation of from seven to eight thousand feet. Many civil and criminal cases had necessarily to be decided in Chilas and free inter-communication between it and the outlying localities comprised in the district was essential.

Similarly serious outrages etc. must be reported immediately to the Assistant Political Agent while a multitude of matter of minor importance also formed subjects of communication.

Under the existing arrangements very considerable delay occurred in the conveyance of reports etc. to and from the headquarters of the Assistant Political Agent while the strain on the small headquarters establishment of levies as well as on the outlying posts was often severe, and the expense entailed in supplying rations to the levies employed for the purpose was also considerable. But, apart from these factors which were perhaps in themselves sufficient to justify the proposed expenditure, an even more cogent argument in its favour was to be found in the general prevalence of crime in the district and the very great desirability of an early report in cases of serious crime, which not infrequently necessitated the immediate presence of the Assistant Political Agent. Recent experience had shown that in such cases there was a considerable danger of intrigue, which greatly diminished by speedy investigation while delay, even of a few days, might and under existing arrangements frequently did, lead to many complications.

Telephonic communication between the posts referred to and Chilas would obviously save much of this delay and would also be a boon in other minor respects.

It should be noted that the telegraph line between Boonji and Chilas was a local and branch line and was not on the main line of communication with Kashmir and India. Comparatively few messages passed along it and there was, it was believed, no night work. In order, however, to guard against any abuse of the telephone, if sanctioned it was proposed.

(*a*) that the telephone should be installed in the office of the Assistant Political Agent at Chilas and should only be available for use by authorised persons;

(*b*) that the telephone should only be used outside the regular telegraph working hours *i.e.* 1 a.m. to 5 p.m.

The safeguards would, it was hoped, be sufficient to remove any objections on the part of the Telegraph Department.

The telegraph department voiced no objection to the proposal which was, under the circumstances, sanctioned by the Government of India.[1]

In 1916 the Political Agent made another proposal to the Government of India on the subject of utilising telegraph line for telephonic communication. He requested that sanction be accorded to the utilisation of the existing telegraph line between Gilgit and Gupis for telephonic communication on the same terms on which was granted for using the Chilas-Boonji Section.

The Superintendent, Telegraph Engineering, Lahore division, who was consulted in the matter, had agreed to this proposal on the following terms :—

(i) that the telephone was used by none but responsible and duly authorised persons;

(ii) that it was not used within the regular telegraph working hours;

(iii) that the telegraph department was remunerated at full rates for the telephone instruments and at quarter rates for the section of the line used, and

(iv) that should the telephone arrangement at any time interfere with telegraph communication and should the interference be found irremediable, the telephone arrangement in question would be abandoned.

The Political Agent accepted the above terms and requested that the proposal be given a trial on the understanding that it would be abandoned at any time if found to work unsatis-

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1. GOI, Fgn, and Pol, Front-B, January 1915, Nos. 19-21.

factorily. The Resident recommended the proposal, and the Indian Government sanctioned it.[1]

At the recommendation of the Political Agent, the Government of India abolished the Gilgit-Jallipur and Gilgit-Gupis telephone lines with effect from the 15th of June 1923, for the Political Agent did not think these lines to be essential to the normal administration of the Agency. These, however, were to be restored whenever need for so doing arose.[2]

But in December 1925 the Political Agent requested the Government of India, through the Resident, that the lines under reference be restored, for it was thought to be much desirable that the Political Agent should be in constant and close touch with every part of the Agency. There were only a limited number of telegraph offices and in any case for administrative work the telegraph was inconvenient.

But, apart from ordinary convenience to the administration there were two new and cogent reasons for the establishment of the lines. First, there was the establishment of the Soviet Consulate—General in Kashgar, which made it essential that the Mir of Hunza and the Governor of Yasin should be able (for example, when strangers without credentials entered their territory) to consult the Political Agent personally without delay. Secondly, there was the unrest which prevailed in Tangir, Darel and Jalkot, bordering on Chilas ; and the probability that the Assistant Political Agent and Political Agent would have in the near future to co-operate closely with the North-West Province, which rendered it necessary that they should be able to consult each other without delay.

The Political Agent had carried, on occasion, in the past, and proposed always in future to carry, an instrument with him on tour, so that, after telegraph work was over in the

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1. S.M. Fraser to J.B. Wood, No. 2179, April 18, 1916, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front-B, June 1916, Nos. 10-11 ; Fgn. and Pol, Department of Government of India to RK, No. 199 F, June 18, 1916, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front-B, June 1916, Nos. 10-11.

2. File No. 25-F of 1923, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front, Nos. 1-7.

evening, he might get into touch with any one who had urgent business.[1]

The Resident had recently paid a visit to Gilgit where he had discussed with the Political Agent the matter of communications with Gilgit. These discussions had convinced him that, under political conditions, the restoration of these two lines was necessary to the administration of the Agency.[2] The Government of India, therefore, granted this request in February 1926.[3] And the lines under consideration were re-opened with effect from 28th of April, 1926.[4]

For the protection of the telegraph and the telephone wires in the Agency, the Gilgit authorities issued and enforced rules similar to those that were issued and enforced for the protection of bridges in the area.[5]

Air Flights to Gilgit and Chilas

In the year 1926, the Government of India at the request of the Political Agent, and the recommendation of the Resident, gave sanction for the construction of aircraft landing grounds at Chilas and Gilgit in the Agency. This was done with the concurrence of the then Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Hari Singh.[6] The necessity for having aerodromes on the frontier arose because Communist Russia had of late started overflying the Agency territory and thereby impressing the tribals ; it was necessary to counter these Russian moves for political reasons.[7]

The actual flights from India to Chilas and Gilgit started in 1929.[8] And this remained the only contact of the Agency with the rest of the world during the six or seven months of the winter.[1]

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[1] Major G. Loch to First Assistant to RK, No. 65-S/Y-4 of December 14, 1925, GOI, Fgn and Pol, Extl, File No. 313-X of 1926, Nos. 1-2.

[2] John Wood to Foreign Secy. to Government of India, Fgn. and Pol, No. 141 of January 12, 1926, GOI, Fgn and Pol, Extl, File No. 313-X of 1926, Nos. 1-2.

[3] GOI, Fgn and Pol, Extl, File No. 313-X of 1926, Nos. 1-2.

[4] GA. Pol. Diary for the month of May 1926, GOI, Fgn and Pol, File No. 284-X, Sec, Extl, of 1927.

[5] JK 115/B-133 of 1914.

[6] GOI, Fgn and Pol, 448-X of 1927, Nos. 1-49 ; Kak, B.L., *The Fall of Gilgit*, 1977, p. 11.

[7] GOI, Fgn. and Pol, 448-X of 1927, Nos. 1-49.

[8] *Ibid.*

Ladakh

Roads : In Tibetan every road was called Lam ; but the high roads were distinguished by the name of Lam-Chhen, or "Great Roads" and Gya Lam, or "Passable Roads". The principal road was that between Kashmir and Yarkand ; the next in importance was the road to Lhasa, via Garo, and the third was that which led through Rupshu, Lahul, and Kullu, to the cities of Nurpur, Amritsar and Ludhiana. This and the first mentioned route together formed what was called the Treaty High Road. Some of the other roads, though not much frequented by merchants, are still deserving of notice, as they had on three different occasions been made use of by the conquerors of Ladakh. About A.D. 1600, the Musalmans of Balti, under Ali Sher, invaded Ladakh on the west by the valley of the Indus. In 1686, the Sokpos or Sacae invaded it on the east by the Rudok road ; and in 1834, the Dogras of Jammu, under Zorawar Singh, invaded it on the south by the route from Kishtwar into Suru. Moorcroft mentions another commercial line between India and Khotan, "which was frequented in the time of Shah Jahan and closed by the Chinese subsequently to their acquisition of Kashgar". In another place he says that this road ran through Garo and Ruthog to Sarikia, half-way-between Yarkand and Khotan ; and in a third place he states that from Rudok across the mountains to Khotan was a journey of three or four days only. But both the Chinese geographers and the Jesuit missionaries have agreed in placing Khotan in N. latitude 370° or just three and a half degrees, or about 250 miles, to the north of Rudok. The journey must therefore be one of three or four weeks, instead of three or four days. The only probable explanation of Moorcroft's statement is, that the frontier of Khotan was only three or four day's journey from Rudok. His very mention of Sarikia, a place half-way between

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[1] Maillart, Ellak, *Forbidden Journey from Peking to Kashmir*, 1937, p. 290.

Yarkand and Khotan, shows that Moorcroft must have known the true distance of Khotan, as his own Munshi, Izzet Ullah, makes Savighout (or Sarikia) just thirteen marches from Leh. It cannot, therefore, be less than eighteen or twenty days' journey from Rudok. The road from India to the Niti pass, through Garo and Rudok to Yarkand was, therefore, the same as that from Lhasa to Yarkand, by the valley of the Indus. The two routes joined at Garo, and followed the Indus to Kak-jung, from whence the traveller might proceed either down the Indus to Leh, and across the mountains to the Shyok river, or he might cross the Tsaka La and proceed direct to the Shyok by Chushal or Pang Kong.[1]

The different roads that led to Leh, on all sides, were the following : —

1. The western road from Kabul and the Punjab, through Kashmir.
2. The south-western road from the Central Punjab, through Jammu, Kishtwar and Zanskar to Leh. A branch of this road ran from Zanskar through Rupshu to Leh.
3. The southern road from Lahore and Amritsar, through Kullu, Lahul and Rupshu to Leh. A branch road from Bisahar, via Sipiti, joined this road in Rupshu.
4. The south-eastern road from Lhasa to Garo and the Indus to Leh. A branch from India, via the Niti pass, joined this road at Garo.
5. The eastern road from Chinese Tartary, through Rudok and the valleys of Chushal and Sakte to Leh.
6. The northern road from Yarkand and Khotan, over the Karakoram mountains and down the Shyok and Nubra rivers to Leh. The old route, which was afterwards closed by glaciers that dammed the stream,

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[1] Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 146-47 ; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*,—"From Kotayam to Karachi", Vol. XV, 1908, pp. 80-81 ; Sherring, Charles A, *Western Tibet and the British Border Land*, 1906, p. 158 ; *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mahommed, 1908, p. 2.

followed the Shyok from its source to Sassar, and thence either continued down that river, or across the mountains and down the Nubra river to Leh.

7. The north-western road from Balti, via the Shyok and Indus rivers, to Leh.[1] The principal routes that opened Baltistan to the outside world were the Kargil-Srinagar, Kargil-Leh and Kargil-Skardu routes. All of them were practicable for pack animals only.[2]

The Kashmir Darbar, in spite of limited financial resources, took long strides for the development of trade and commerce in the State. To this end, they embarked upon a career of constructing roads and bridges in different parts of the State including Dardistan and Ladakh. Ladakh was already linked with Kashmir and India by roads. In order to link it with the Gilgit Agency area, they built, as has been mentioned before, a road from Boonji to Skardu in 1893-94. And in 1914 a new trade route from Leh to the Karakoram pass was opened to traffic.[3]

Bridges : The great rivers of Ladakh were crossed by ferries, fords and bridges, as was done in Dardistan. Fording was the most usual means of crossing both the Indus and the Shyok, in the upper parts of their sources, where their waters were widely spread and shallow. In the neighbourhood of Leh, where the Indus became deep and rapid, it was spanned by three bridges, and just below Leh, where the current was less rapid, people were ferried across on inflated skins. The Zanskar river was bridged in two places, and was not, it was believed, ever fordable.

In the summer the fording of many of the streams could only be accomplished in the morning ; for, after ten and eleven o'clock the waters were so much increased by the melted snows that they became quite unfordable.

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1. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 147-48.

2. A.C. Talbot to SGI, Fgn, No. 3112 of July 13, 1896, GOI, Fgn, Front-B, August 1896, Nos. 90-98 ; *Assessment Report, Kargil*, 1911, p. 35 (Available in State Archives Jammu).

3. Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1913-14, p. 126.

The ford was called Gal in Tibetan ; and the name was applied to one of the principal branches of the Zanskar river, which was called Sum-gal, or the "Three Fords", because it was formed of three streams that were forded one after the other just above their junction.

The common people were ferried over on a single inflated skin (phagpa), but great men usually had a raft formed by placing a bed over two inflated skins. The skin was generally the hide of a buffalo, with the openings carefully sewn up, excepting one of the hind legs, which was kept for inflation. The skin floated with the legs uppermost. The ferryman threw his arm over it, holding the closed leg in his left hand, and a small wooden paddle in his right. The passenger sat down, native fashion, on the skin, and secured himself by holding the ferryman's shoulder as well as the leg of the skin. The ferryman paddled with his right hand, and pushed the skin forward by striking out his legs as in swimming.

The bridges of Ladakh had different names, according to the materials of which they were constructed. The finest bridges, such as those of Leh and Khallach, were called Shing-zam, or "Wooden bridges", because they spanned the river with large beams of poplar. Chugzam or suspension bridge was common in many parts of Ladakh. But iron or steel was not made use of in constructing these bridges uptil 1906, and it was only in 1907-08 that one iron suspension bridge was constructed at Vailoo on the Leh Treaty Road.[1]

Telegraphs : In Samvat year 1939 or about 1882 A.D. the Kashmir Government construced a telegraph line from Dras to Skardu and opened offices at these places.[2] And in 1957 (or 1900-1901 A.D.) the construction of Karagil-Leh line was completed and an office at Leh was formally opened.[3]

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1. "Statement of the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1907-08", p. 135 ; Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, pp. 166-168.

2. Raina, J.L., *Means of Communication in the Last Century in Kashmir and How the Control Passed into British Hands*, 1926, p. 19.

3. AAR, 1900-1901, p. 80.

Damage to Telegraph Lines

In January 1918, the Superintendent of Telegraphs, Jammu and Kashmir State, stated that much damage was then being done to the Telegraph line between Kargil and Leh. Every fortnight reports were received from the linestaff about loss of articles. There had been a heavy hike in prices of all materials and these damages, therefore, assumed a serious shape and unless were put a stop to, the maintenance of the Leh line would get very expensive and difficult. It was not possible to detect the people who purloined these articles. The Telegraph Department, therefore, decided upon holding the entire village, wherein the theft took place, responsible for the crime. To this end, the Maharaja was persuaded in March 1918 to order the issuance and enforcement of a notification like the one issued to protect the property of the Imperial Telegraph Department in the Gilgit Agency.[1]

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1. JK 115/B-133 of 1914.

9

Trade, Industry, Taxes and Forests

Dardistan : Trade

Internal Trade : The different territorial parts of Dardistan had to depend on one another for the supply of the things their inhabitants needed. Fruits were exported from Hunza to Gilgit. There was always a stream of Hunza men carrying produce from their country to sell in the bazaars of the Gilgit town, especially peaches and apples which were little grown lower down. Peaches which, in 1935, were twenty a penny in Hunza were sold for sixteen a penny in Gilgit, price that was regarded in Hunza as very high, and this was a good profit.[1] Nagar had practically no outlet except down the river to Gilgit. Shut in to the east by impassable mountains, and to the south by the great Rakapushi range, there was only the bare possibility of reaching Baltistan by the Hispar pass : there was a tradition in 1890s that this road was once used, but it is very doubtful if the story is true. It needed a mountaineer properly equipped to make use of this road, which ran over one of the greatest glacier masses of the world. Nagar was, therefore, dependent on Gilgit for its luxuries, such as weapons, cotton, cloth, salt, sugar etc ; most of them the produce of India, or on Hunza for the products of Turkestan and Central Asia.[2] Gilgit in its turn banked upon Chilas, Yasin, Darel and Tangir for its needs in cattle.[3] The Kohistanis, the Darelis and the

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[1] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 98.

[2] Col. Algernon Durand, p. 144.

[3] GA Official Diary for the week ending 9th February 1895, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, July 1895, Nos. 1052-1102.

Tangiris depended upon Chilas Bazaar for all their supplies. And Chilas, in turn, secured wheat from Kohistan.[1]

In all the countries bordering on Gilgit as well as in Gilgit itself, money was very scarce, so that trade was carried on mostly by barter. Coined money was therefore prized above its intrinsic value, and was the most acceptable form in which presents could be given.

The money in circulation on the frontier was the old Kashmir rupee (worth eight annas of British currency) and English rupees. Copper and small silver coins did not circulate.[2]

External Trade : From times immemorial there had been close cultural and commercial ties between India and Central Asia. Owing to historical circumstances cultural ties had by the second quarter of the 20th century become loose but commercial were still a binding factor between the two countries.

There were two routes from Kashmir leading to Chinese Turkistan, one was via Gilgit and the other via Leh. The Leh route had, as has been said before, a direct connection through Kulu with British India. Exports from Central Asia to Kashmir and India were: Horses, cotton manufactures, charas, hides and skins, salt (Tibetan), silks, wool and woollens, etc., and exports from India and Kashmir to Central Asia consisted of cotton manufactures, hides and skins, silks, tea, leather, paints and colours, drugs and medicines, grains, spices etc.[3]

A portion of the above commodities on their way to Central Asia or India was purchased in Dardistan or Ladakh by the people of these territories for their own use. Other imports into Dardistan from Central Asia and the Pamirs were bridles, foots, ghee, sheep, goats, postins, sugar, horses etc.[1] Besides, some of the prosperous and enterprising agriculturists of the Agency used to travel to Rawalpindi via the Babusar and Chilas Road and import piece-goods which they sold at considerable profits.[2] Before the construction of the Gilgit-Srinagar route, the Astore district of the Agency used always to import salt from Ladakh, but after the construction of this route the trade in question died out in-as-much as the Gilgit-Srinagar road put Kashmir very much closer. Another article of import into Dardistan was tobacco which came from Kashmir.[3]

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[1] Official Diary of the PA for the week ending 22nd December 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1898, Nos. 343-64; Official Diary of the PA for the week ending 9th January 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1897, Nos. 216-52 ; Official Diary of the PA for the week ending 8th December 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, January 1898, Nos. 282-98.

[2] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, August 1885, Nos. 1281.

[3] Trade Report of the J and K State for Samvat year 1989-90, pp. 20-23 ; GOI, Fgn, Front-B, January 1902, Nos. 54-88; GA Official Diary for the week ending 8th January 1898, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1898, Nos. 343-64 ; Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 21.

Steps for the Improvement of Trade

The Kashmir Darbar took long strides for the promotion of trade on the Gilgit Frontier. To this end, they, apart from taking other measures, provided, in 1891-92, incentive to the Kaliwal Indus Valley men, who traded between the frontier area, Kashmir and the Punjab, to escalate their business activities. Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Kashmir, who gave up the ghost in 1885, had through a Parwana exempted these traders from payment of Octri duties in Gilgit, but in spite of this exemption they were still compelled to pay a tax on local produce imported by them from the neighbouring territories into Gilgit for sale and were at the same time forced to sell commodities at low rates fixed by the Darbar officials.

Not only the above. These merchants were charged Rs. 1.8.0 on each load of Indian or Kashmir merchandise landed at Gilgit, apart from a sum of Rs. 1.8.0 per load charged at Gakuch in respect of goods exported to Yasin or Chitral and a Re. 1.0.0 per load at Nomal in case of export to Hunza and Nagar.

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[1] GA. Diary for the week ending 23rd March 1895, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, July 1895, Nos. 1052-1102 ; GA. Diary for the week ending 8th December 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F January 1898, Nos. 282-98 ; GA. Diary for the week ending 8th January 1898, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1898, Nos. 343-64 ; GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-76.

[2] AAR, 1904-05, p. 7 ; Major John Biddulph, p. 10.

[3] JK, 25/H-32 of 1896.

In 1891-92, the merchants complained, through the Political Agent, to the State Government against the aforesaid exactions. The Darbar, to encourage trade to the fullest possible extent, arranged that the Gilgit Bazaar be put under the Naib Wazir who would, as in cantonments in India, fix a fair price for local produce, prevent forced sales and allow of the Kaliwals getting fair market value for goods sold to Darbar officials, and on a reference from the Political Agent, pending receipt of a detailed report, his proposal to fix the Octri duty at Re. 1.0.0. per load on all goods coming from Kashmir and India and the remission of the Nomal tax of Re. 1.0.0 per load were sanctioned tentatively for the period of one year. And the tax levied by the Punial Raja at Gakuch was left uninterfered with.[1]

Industries : In certain parts of Dardistan there were blacksmiths who made rough sickles and agricultural implements. Rough pottery, jewellery, blankets, putto, etc. were manufactured by almost all the land-holders on the frontier. Gunpowder was made by hunters and hair ropes (goat) were manufactured by working people.[2] In Chitral, cotton carpets of an inferior kind, which had the peculiarity of being alike on both sides, were made for local use, and Chitral daggers and sword—hilts were in great demand in the neighbouring valleys.[3]

Sericulture : In the spring of 1899 the Gilgit authorities made an attempt at improving sericulture in the Agency. Walton, Superintendent of Sericulture in Kashmir, supplied a small quantity of European seed which was distributed among different villages in Gilgit and Chilas. Walton's directions in regard to the method of rearing and tending the worms were followed as far as local circumstances admitted, but the natural laziness and want of cleanliness amongst the people rendered it difficult to ensure all his requirements being fully complied with.

The Agency Surgeon reared a small quantity of worms strictly on the lines laid down as a means of affording technical instruction to any who might be desirous of taking up this

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1. AAR, 1891-92, pp. 216-17.
2. JK. 25/H-32 of 1896.
3. Major John Biddulph, p. 62.

industry seriously.[1] But the experiment was far from a success. It was felt that the temperature at Gilgit and Chilas was too high for the successful raising of European seed.[2]

Taxes : The Ras of Gilgit derived their revenues as follows : From the land, a tax called "Koodkool" was paid on every crop, in kind, according to the quality of the land, which was regularly and apparently not heavily assessed. A pastoral tax of a sheep or goat, called "Ganonimari", was paid by each household every alternate year. This might be commuted at the will of the payer for the sum of two shillings yearly. A tax called "Nyoori shairi", of four shillings a year, was paid by each water-mill, which was, however, exempted from payment the first year after construction. For washing gold dust, in which a considerable number of people in certain villages found employment during the winter, a fixed tax of fifty-five pounds sterling, called "Ra-i-dillki" was paid yearly. In the autumn a grape-tax, called "Jachai toni", was levied in kind on every vine according to its size ; and when the wine-making began, a certain number of measures of grape juice, called "Rekhoo", were also paid to the Ra. A money tax of sixteen shillings, called "Gare toloo", was levied on each marriage, for which the bridegroom was liable. Every weaver's house furnished eight yards of cotton cloth to the Ra, which was called "Buyetcho patchi". Silk also, which was produced by nearly every household, paid as tax called "Chooshi purtai", which consisted of as many cocoons as the Charboo could grasp in one hand, out of the heap collected by each family. Four villages, in which silk was not produced, paid a commutation of one fat sheep, valued at eight shillings, which was called "Chooshi mari", per village.

Besides these, a curious tax, called "Chaette", was paid by the villages of Burmess, Khomer, and Naupur only, which consisted of all the milk and butter produced by one cow from each house in those villages between the Ganoni; and Chili festivals,—that is, from the middle of May to the end of October. These three villages also gave the Ra one small kid yearly from each house. The impost was called "Cheloo". No reason is assigned for the origin of these peculiar taxes, which are said to have been instituted by a Queen by name Jowari. Another local tax, called "Sategi", was paid by the village of Bagrot. This originated in a visit paid by Habbi Khan when a boy, during the reign of his mother Jowari, on which occasion the village community made him a grant of a piece of land. It was, however, found inconvenient to cultivate it under the same system as the other crown lands, so it was, shortly afterwards, resumed by the village, on an agreement to pay a tax of thirteen taraks of wheat, equal to five and a half quarters, yearly.[1]

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[1] GA. Diary for the week ending 15th of April 1899, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, August 1899, Nos. 64-75.

[2] GA. Diary for the week ending 10th June 1899, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, August 1899, Nos. 64-75.

Every trader who entered the country paid a duty, "Masool", of one roll of cloth out of each load, or two per cent of live-stock, or the equivalent in other goods. At the time of sheep-slaughtering at the winter solstice, one hind quarter was furnished by each house, out of which a certain number went to each of the minor officials, and the head and hind quarters of all game killed was the perquisite of the Ra.

Money payments were made in gold-dust, which was largely used as a circulating medium under the Dogras too.

The Yerfah was responsible for the collection of the land revenue ; but special men called "Burro" were appointed to collect the other dues.

In addition to these sources of revenue, the Ra owned tracts of land in each of the larger villages, the cultivation of which was managed, as has been mentioned before*, by the Yerfah. In each of such villages a certain number of families called "Wairetche" were placed at the disposal of the Yerfah who used them for ploughing, sowing and irrigating the Ra's lands. In return for these services, these families were exempt from all other payments. The harvesting and winnowing were done by the whole village, who combined on certain days for the purpose. The "Wairetche" of Gilgit, who numbered twenty families as against six or seven in other villages, were also bound to furnish a load of wood from each family daily during the winter, for the use of the Ra's household, and one load of torch wood a year. Certain families in Gilgit also held the hereditary office of cooks to the Ra, for which they were exempt from all taxes. In 1880 also there were four families who claimed that their ancestors cooked for Sri Badat, and who took no part in the Taleni festival, which celebrated his death, but shut themselves up in their houses, and regarded it as a time of mourning. These were apart from several other families of hereditary cooks to the later rulers, who in 1880 too rendered service to the then Ra of Gilgit.

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[1] Pol. Diary of the British Agent, Gilgit, for the week ending 2nd January 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1897, Nos. 1-7 ; GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 41-42.

*See Chapter I, Administration Section.

Some of the dues mentioned above began to be paid to the Dogras after they occupied the territory, and some to the titular Ra of Gilgit. The same system existed in Hunza, Nagar, Yasin, Chitral, Chilas, Punial etc.[1] And with a view to eking out their income the Kashmir Darbar made arrangements for the vend of liquor and opium in Gilgit. The total income from the sale of these commodities in 1912-13 was Rs. 1,175-6-2.[2]

Forests

The important part that forests play in the lives of the people, particularly the villagers, needs no elaboration. Roughly speaking, the forests supply the people with timber for the making of buildings, agricultural implements, household utensils and furniture, torchwood, bark for fanning and herbs for culinary and medicinal purposes, and firewood besides providing grazing facilities. The villagers derive a large income, direct as well as indirect, from the timber works that are undertaken.[3] Apart from this, forests render a great indirect service to the people by securing the soil and thereby preserving the devastation caused by avalanches, land slips and floods.[1]

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[1] GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, May 1890, Nos. 273-276 ; Major John Biddulph, pp. 42-44 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 368 ; AAR, 1889-90, p, 22 ; AAR, 1913-14, p. 13 ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 267-68 ; JK, 49 of 1901 ; JK, 115/F-53 of 1900.

[2] AAR, 1912-13, p. 73.

[3] *Census of India, Kashmir*, Part I, 1921, p. 66.

Colonel Tanner makes the following remarks respecting the vegetation round about Gilgit :—

"The pencil cedar I have found continuously from 14,400 feet down to 6,000 feet. The Pinus excelsa has a more limited range, as it grows only between 3,500 and 12,000 feet. The deodar does not grow in Gilgit. The edible pine grows in Astore. It is also found around Chaprote, and thick forests of it occur just below Gor. The birch is very common throughout Gilgit. Besides these, the tamarisk appears to thrive well. There are no oaks, and the wild olive is rare".[2] Jungle products like Guchhis, Zira and Banafsha were also found in places. Shilajit stone was met with to a small extent. Molath grew abundantly in Danyor, Partappura, Nomal, Sharot, and Shukaiot, but the people of the area did not know the use of the herb. Zira grass was obtainable in Rattu, Chhugam, Rampur, Gurikot, Mir-Malik, and Khudkisht-Dashkin. It was also found in Naltar in a small quantity. It yielded a good crop after heavy rains which were useful when the plants were in flower.[3]

Endeavours for Conservation of Forests

There were no rules in force regulating the cutting of trees in the Gilgit Agency. The contractors and the people there had a free hand to cut as they pleased. The result was that there had been a wanton destruction of forest timber.[4] Another cause of the devastation of forests was occasional outbreak of fires in them. Fires usually broke out in the Mushkin and Doian Forests on the main road from Astore to Gilgit. This was owing to the action of the Markbans who used to halt in these jungles, kindle fires and leave them in flames at the time of their departure.[5] To prevent the trees in the Agency forests from indiscriminate felling and for their preservation, the Political Agent, Gilgit, in 1917, asked for the services of Lieutenant S.W. Steane, a forest officer, in conducting the survey of the Agency with special reference to the wants of the garrison in respect of fuel.[1]

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[1] Wilmot, Eardley, *Note on a Tour in the Forests of Jammu and Kashmir in 1905*, (1907), p. 2.

[2] *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 36.

[3] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, p. 60.

[4] JK, 67 of 1899.

[5] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, p. 61.

Accordingly, the Government of India and the Kashmir Darbar deputed, in 1918, the required officer to Gilgit to achieve the object the Political Agent had in view. He drew up a report on the fuel resources of Gilgit, and made certain recommendations for the planting of willows and other quick-growing trees, which, he thought, would provide the entire fuel supply of Gilgit garrison by 1930, and for the systematic exploration of the forests in the Nallahs in the neighbourhood of Gilgit during the time that the willows and other trees were growing.[2]

Steane's recommendations were carried out, from 1919 to 1926, thousands of young trees were planted. But only a few of them grew up or even took roots, there being no machinery for protecting them from the ravages of animals and people or for looking after them till they had grown reasonably strong.[3]

Under the circumstances, the Darbar sent, in June 1928, another forest officer, Gushpur Mahboob Ali, to Gilgit on a six month's deputation. He was to examine the forests, particularly with a view to conserving the fuel supply, especially around Gilgit and to examine the possibility of afforestation.[4] He inspected the forests in the neighbourhood of Boonji and Gilgit and also in the political districts of Punial; Kuh-Ghizar, Yasin and Ishkaman. He arrived at the conclusion that if early steps were not taken to conserve the few forests which remained, and place the collection of fuel upon some regular basis, both the Imperial and Kashmir Governments would in some not very distant future be called upon to face very heavy expenditure. On his return to Kashmir Mahboob Ali submitted a detailed report to his own department.[1] But all these efforts of the Kashmir State proved to be nugatory and fuel supply at Gilgit remained ever scarce, and it was a problem which no one could solve.[2]

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[1] JK, 273/H-34 of 1918.

[2] GOI, Fgn, and Pol. Extl, Nos. 612-X (Sec) of 1927, Nos. 1-2.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Gilgit Agency Pol. Diary for the month of June 1928, GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Sec, Extl, File No. 52-X of 1928.

Ladakh : Trade

Imports : Ladakh imported dried apricots, ghee, vessels of grit stone for cooking, and water-pots from Baltistan ; grapes from Kashmir ; melons from Yarkand, and wool, pasham, salt, tea, borax, precious stones, coral tur-quoises, etc. from Tibet.[3] Besides, portions of all those commodities which were sent from India to Central Asia, and Central Asia to India were purchased by the Ladakhis both for home consumption and supply to other countries.

Exports : The exports were : pasham, borax, dried apricots, sulphur, wool, barley etc. Pasham was exported to Kashmir for the consumption of the Shawl industry there.[4] Sulphur was carried to the markets of Nurpur, Kangra and Rampur.[5] And dried apricots[6] and barley were exported to Tibet. Rudok, in western Tibet, grew practically no grain and was dependent on Ladakh for its supplies. And whenever the Kashmir authorities prohibited the export of grain to this part of Tibet, the people there felt seriously inconvenienced and quarrels developed between the Ladakhi traders and Tibetan officials. One such dispute occurred in the year 1898.[7]

Industries : Spinning, weaving and dying were carried on in almost every household. Professional weavers were found in

1. Administration Report of the Gilgit Agency for the year 1928, GOI, Fgn and Pol, Sec, File No. 97-X of 1929.

2. Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 18.

3. GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front-B, April 1921, Nos. 40-42 ; JK, 176/R, p. 4 of 1920 ; Capt. H. Ramsay to RK No. 145, July 1, 1888, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, October 1888, Nos. 9-13 ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 357.

4. GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front-B, April 1921, Nos. 24-42 ; GOI, Fgn, Front-A, January 1904, Nos. 137-44.

5. Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 240.

6. GOI, Fgn. and Pol, Front-B, April 1921, Nos. 40-42.

7. Capt. R.L. Kennion to RK, Nos. 509 of November 8, 1899, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, February 1900, Nos. 17-18. For details of the quarrel see, appendix No. V.

a few of the most populous villages. The hair of the goat after it was separated from the wool was made into ropes, blankets, and bags for home use, and as wrappers for bales of merchandise.

Wool-cleansing was effected either by rubbing it with cones of the dried clay, or by sprinkling it with a powder of the same clay. This cleansed wool was used for the better sort of woollen stuffs. The art of bleaching was unknown.

Felling was practised to a limited extent, and also basket-work. Brass-ware, shoes, making of local ornaments like chains, rings etc. were among old time industries of Ladakh. Paper was made from the roots of Astragabes strictus. Dr. Aitchison sent some of these plants to Kew and had the following opinion passed on them as a material for making paper : "...the inner portion of the bark affords an excellent material for the manufacture of paper. The great objection to it is the outer rind, which is not only a source of dust, but extremely difficult to bleach. It is hard to fix a value for such an article, but in the state in which the bark is, it would be probably worth about £ 7 a ton. If the outer rind were removed, it would probably be worth twice as much...it is feared there will be great difficulty in rendering it fit for the manufacture of white paper."

The plant also grew in Lahul, where the inhabitants were of the view that the paper made from it was of a poisonous character, and injured the eyes of those who read writing on it.[1]

Taxes : Prior to the advent of the Dogras, Ladakh was ruled, as has been mentioned before, by Native Chiefs termed as Gyalpos, who levied no direct tax on land and whose system of taxation was as follows :—

(1) Each large-sized house paid yearly 12 seers of grain, each middle-sized house 8 seers, and each small-sized 6 seers ;

(2) The Gyalpo had lands in every village and the villagers

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[1] Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 238 ; Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, p. 346 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, pp. 79-82 ; Gervis, Pearce, *This is Kashmir*, 1954, p. 197.

were bound to cultivate these and to pay him 4 Khals (48 seers) of grain for each Khal of seed sown on such lands ;

(3) From owners of flocks a yearly tax of one animal in thirty was levied, while each holder of land had to give one sheep yearly ;

(4) From the Tartar shepherds or "Champas" who came from Changthang with wool and salt the Gyalpo took two sheep and one sheep's load for every hundred sheep in the caravan, besides which each caravan, irrespective of its size, had to give 1 seer of wool, 10 seers of salt, and one sheep.

(5) There was a tax on shops, brokers, and trade passing through Ladakh. The details are not known, but the tax was farmed out, it is said, for Rs. 3,840/- a year.

(6) Every third year the Gyalpo sent an agent to Lhasa to trade on his own account.* The Gyalpo advanced Rs. 1,920, and the agent had to bring back tea worth Rs. 3,840. The carriage required for the transport of the agent's merchandise from Leh to Lhasa was obtained by means of forced labour.

(7) Each landowner had to give the Gyalpo as much dried lucerne as could be encircled by a rope 7½ feet long.

(8) For the Gyalpo's household consumption certain villages were required, in turn, to supply gratis all that was required, both for men and animals :—

		Months	*Days*
The Cis-Shyok villages of Nubra for	...	2	12
The Trans-Sharck villages of Nubra for	...	1	12
The Igu district in Ladakh for	...	1	23
The Jemisgan district in Ladakh for	...	1	13
The Bazgu for	...	1	13
The Leh and Khardong for	...	1	12
The Mattra for	...	0	22
The Shay for	...	0	22
The Digar for	...	0	22
The Nuno for	...	0	22

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*This custom prevailed in 1886 too, and was termed as the Lapchak Mission. The Maharaja then gave Rs. 9,000 to the agent, who on his return had to bring in exchange Rs. 18,000 worth of tea. (British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246, December 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, June 1887, Nos. 97-108.

The Bhot, however, reckoned according to the lunar system, therefore every third year had thirteen months, and during this extra month the Gyalpo's officials had to provide whatever was required. The total income enjoyed by the Gyalpos is not known.

In the time of Basti Ram the revenue derived from land amounted to Rs. 27,653/- per annum, but it is not known whether he was the person who originated the land tax.

Basti Ram was succeeded by his son Mangalju, generally known as Mehta Mangal Singh, who about 1864 revised the revenue arrangements. His system was to classify all the houses according to the rate at which they had been taxed by the Gyalpos ; houses which had been taxed as big houses were considered to have an entire "Zamin"† belonging to them and had to pay a land tax of Rs. 7/- per annum in cash, and about Rs. 4/- per annum in kind. They also had to pay about Rs. 1.11 per annum in cash on account of the "miscellaneous" taxes given in the footnotes.*

The middle and small-sized houses were assumed to have half and quarter of a "Zamin" belonging to them, respectively, and they were taxed accordingly. If one person owned more than one house he was taxed for the "Zamins" belonging to the several houses he possessed. Under this settlement the land revenue in cash amounted to Rs. 30,225/- including the proceeds of the "miscellaneous" taxes and the revenue in kind to about Rs. 9,500/-, making a total revenue of Rs. 39,725/-. The revenue was collected, as afterwards, by the Lambardars (who were appointed by the villagers), who gave it to the district Kardars (appointed by the wazir) for payment into the treasury.[1]

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†A "Zamin" was roughly speaking that amount of land which required from 30 to 40 "Khals" of seed to sow it. A "Khal" was a sheep's load of 24 pounds, and was sufficient for one-eighth of an acre : 4 Khals would therefore be enough for 5 acres.

*Sarafana, Nazrana, Duzdi Zamin, Zarimarklab, Nazri Wazir, Nazri Kolab etc. etc.

[1] British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246, December 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, June 1887, Nos. 97-108.

Some years after Mehta Mangal Singh's departure from Ladakh, it was found that all the most influential people of the country—the Lamas, the native officials, and richer landowners—paid revenue on very much smaller areas of land than they actually held, while the smaller holders were frequently assessed on larger areas than they possessed. As this became gradually apparent, Johnson, the then wazir, made enquiries over the country and found that Mangal's settlement was based on a system of corruption practised on the Wazarat officials who made out the settlement registers. All who could afford to do so had given considerations (of one kind or another) to have their land lightly assessed, while the poorer classes, who were unable to bribe, had been assessed at the full, and sometimes more than the full, amount of their holdings. About 1880 the injustice of this system became so apparent to Johnson, that he recommended the Maharaja to cause a revenue survey to be made, with the object of equalising the taxation on the land. Large deputations, however, went to Kashmir, petitioned against a survey, and offered to pay an increased revenue of 4 annas in the rupee on the existing assessment as an inducement to the State to forego a survey. The Maharaja consented, withheld his sanction for the survey, but gave such equivocal orders (about November 1881) regarding the levy of the extra 4 annas in the rupee, that its collection was successfully resisted by the people during the remainder of Johnson's incumbency. A change of Wazir took place in October 1882, and after another attempt to exact the extra four annas in the rupee had failed, the Maharaja, in 1884, ordered a complete land survey of the province and sent up surveyors and Munshis who had been employed in settlement work in India to carry it out. The survey began with the spring of the following year.[1]

Pandit Radha Kishen Koul, who was at this time the Wazir of Ladakh, got the whole of the cultivated land measured in the Wazarat and taxed people according to the

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1. Ney Elias to H.M. Durand, No. 11728 F, August 5, 1885, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1886, Nos. 1-7 ; *Preliminary Report of Ladakh Settlement* by Chaudhari Khushi Mohammed, Settlement Officer, Ladakh, 1908, pp. 6-7.

area and quality of the land they possessed, and the price of its produce. The rates he charged were the same for all persons, whether Lamas, peasants, or officials, but the land was divided into ten classes and rates were charged as given in the footnotes*, the highest rate being 10 annas per kanal and the lowest 1 anna per kanal *i.e.* it varied from 5 rupees an acre to 8 annas an acre. The "miscellaneous" taxes were to be abolished, as was also "begar" except in so far as the semi-political Lapchak and Chabah† missions were concerned.[1]

Pandit Radha Kishen, when assessing the land, had been most careful to avoid taking more than one-sixth of the gross or half of the net produce. He was confident that his assessment was not severe, because :—

1. he had seldom taken more than one-ninth of the gross produce, calculated on the assumption that seed produced only fourfold, whereas it produced much more ;
2. he had calculated the value of prices according to the existing fixed rates which would not fall, as any surplus grain was readily purchased by the Changthang people at rates higher than the fixed rates ;
3. if the persons who he considered were overtaxed under the old system, and whose revenue demand he had decreased, could afford to pay the old revenue, it was proof positive that his new assessment could not be severe ;
4. although he had increased the land revenue, other taxes and the system of forced labour had been abolished and formed very valuable concessions as a set-off to the enhancement of the land tax ;
5. that water-supply was certain and there was never a failure of crops ;

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*For land lying at an elevation of less than 10,000 feet the rate was from 10 annas to 1 anna per kanal = one—eighth of an acre, for land above 10,000 feet from 8 to 1 anna per kanal.

†The Chabah Mission was sent yearly from Lhasa to Leh. British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246, December 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, June 1887, Nos. 97-108.

[1] *Ibid.*

6. the water flowed down from the mountains over the fields and the cultivators had, therefore, no expense in raising it or bringing it on to their lands ;
7. Villagers charged high prices for land they sold, and this proved that the margin of profit left to villagers under the old system was larger.[1]

The broad result of this assessment was an average increase of revenue of some 50 per cent counterbalanced by concessions of various kinds.[2]

The people of Ladakh, however, did not take this proceeding lying down and raised a great outcry against its introduction. A deputation of land-holders, numbering nearly 300 men, went, in July 1885, to the then British Commissioner in Ladakh, Ney Elias, to complain against the new revenue system. Some of these were people whose revenue had been decreased by the new settlement, but who seemed to consider themselves bound (or perhaps forced) to side with the majority in petitioning for a return to the old system. The inequality, even injustice, of that system, they professed to care nothing about, so long as no innovation was made. They admitted the fairness of the new measurements and records, and made no imputations of corruption against either the wazir or his subordinates. They were given every opportunity to state their case, but had no other arguments to advance except : (1) that an innovation had been made, and (2) that the revenue had been increased. Even the latter consideration did not appear to have much weight with them, for they expressed their willingness to pay, now the extra four annas offered in 1880 provided the new system were abandoned.

The wazir supported the justice of his action on many grounds, the chief of which are :

1. that the people owed the State the 4 annas in the rupee promised by them in 1880 ;
2. that he had made several concessions in matters of

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Trevor Chichele Plowden to SGI, Fgn, No. 886, December 23, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, June 1887, Nos. 97-108.

"begar" labour, the value of grain paid as kind revenue, etc ;

3. that in the cash levy he had kept well within the limits of the principles by which land settlements were regulated in the Punjab ;
4. that during the 20 years (about) since the first settlement was made, a great increase in produce and general prosperity had taken place, so that it was due to the State, in order to raise the proprietary value of the land, to levy a higher revenue from it ;
5. that he and his subordinates had experience of revenue surveys in the Punjab ;[1]
6. that he considered that the country could afford to pay more ;
7. that he disapproved of the old system as being unfair, unsystematic and affording facilities for corrupt practices on the part of Wazarat officials ; and
8. that he knew that many monasteries held expensive lands for which they paid no revenue at all, while some of the poorer people were over-taxed.

In April 1886 Pandit Radha Kishen was summoned to Jammu. He took with him a large number of the Chief men of Ladakh, in order that the Maharaja might hear both sides of the case, and finally settle the revenue question.

The Maharaja made over the matter for settlement to Diwan Lachhman Das, the then Governor of Kashmir, of which province Ladakh was a subordinate Wazarat. The latter was ordered to settle the case as quickly and as well as he could. He accepted a compromise suggested by the Ladakhis, and decided that the new system should be abandoned, and that the old revenue system should be maintained, but enhanced by 25 per cent. The Maharaja approved this decision and the staff of surveyors was then dismissed.

The addition of 25 per cent was to be paid on the cash revenue of Rs. 32,887-2-3, which the Ladakhis represented as constituting the entire land tax, and not on the total land revenue of Rs. 43,777-9-3.[1] As years rolled by, the income of the Kashmir Government from the financial system adopted by it in Ladakh increased. Thus, for instance, the Darbar coffers received, in 1912-13, Rs. 1,52,621-1-3 from Ladakh as land revenue.[2]

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[1] Ney Elias to H.M. Durand, No. 11728 F, August 5, 1885, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, March 1886, Nos. 1-7.

Forests

The only timber trees found in Ladakh were the willow and poplar, and chiefly the former. In order to render it more productive of branches, required for fuel, for roofing, for baskets, and other wicker work, the natives adopted a method of treating the tree which rendered its growth singularly luxuriant. Willow staves from pollard heads about two inches in diameter and ten feet long, from which the leading and side shoots had been cut, had their butt ends immersed in water until they threw out rootfibres : three of them were put into the ground on the edge of a natural or artificial water-course, bound together with grass. After three years a broad strip of bark was torn off from each, from about a man's height down to the ground, and notches were cut in the bark and wood, commonly on the opposite side, to form a ladder by which a man might climb up the tree. As the wood which had been laid bare dried, it was chipped off, and this operation was repeated until the tree was little more than a hallow cylinder of bark, lined with a thin layer of wood. The tree thus contributed from its substance a supply of fuel, and at the same time the branches from its head were multiplied. The first formed or oldest branches being but feebly supported, bent outwards, and sometimes in a slight degree downwards, and from their upper surface sprang a crop of perpendicular shoots, greatly exceeding that of the heads of common pollards. The principle on which this occurred might be analogous to that which seems to prevail in espalier fruit trees, the branches of which, being horizontally disposed, threw out a greater number of upright shoots than they would do if suffered to grow in their own natural direction.

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[1] Note on the Ladakh Wazarat in the Jammu Province by Capt. J.L. Kaye, Settlement Commissioner, J and K, Samvat 1953 (A.D. 1896-97), JK, 85 of 1904 ; British Joint Commissioner, Ladakh, to RK, No. 246, December 14, 1886, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, June 1817, Nos. 97-108.

[2] AAR, 1912-13, p. 8.

The poplars which, along with willows, were planted about every village in Ladakh, were sometimes the Hombardy, but more frequently the black poplar. They were in very insufficient numbers for the wants of ordinary consumption, as the plantations were not allowed to encroach upon the cultivation of corn. The supposed deficiency of surface for timber, without trespassing upon land appropriated to tillage, had suggested an expedient for the multiplication of the produce of wood, which was ingenious and successful. When a poplar, at about five feet from the ground, had attained a diameter of five or six inches, it was headed down. The summit of the stool, just below the cut surface, was girded by a willow with four or five times, so tightly as to become slightly imbedded in the bark, and the top was covered with a thick lump of clay. Shortly after this a crop of shoots rose from the whole circumference of the bark of the tree, which was thinned to the number that it was supposed would thrive. These also, as they reached a sufficient growth, were removed, and repeated crops of poplar staves were in this manner obtained.[1]

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[1] Moorcroft and Trebeck, Vol. I, pp. 306-08 ; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 43.

10

General Prosperity

In the preceding chapters we have seen that the people inhabiting the frontier territories of Dardistan and Ladakh were very backward. They lived in conditions of ignorance, indigence, illiteracy and superstition. The Dogras of Jammu, after they established their ascendancy over these territories, however, became keen on ameliorating the lot of their people. The Kashmir Darbar, in conjunction with the British Government of India, executed many schemes for the economic uplift, physical improvement, intellectual elevation, and political and social emancipation of the tribals. Thus, for instance, for bettering the economic position, trade was .heartened, new irrigation channels were constructed and old ones were repaired, interestfree takkavi loans were advanced and quality seeds were issued, to agriculturists. apart from giving them fixity of tenure and leisure to husband their fields. Besides, with a view to increasing employment opportunities, corps of levies and scouts were created in Dardistan* ; for effecting a bodily improvement of, and ensuring a good state of health to them, people were taught the habits of cleanliness and medical aid was made available to them by dotting the area with hospitals and dispensaries ; for the intellectual elevation, education was placed within the reach of almost every child ; and for political and social emancipation slavery was done away with and crime was reduced if not wholly banished. The cumulative effect of all these measures was that the plane of living of the people started improving year after year.[1] Major

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*For the details of levies and scouts see Chapter IX of "The Gilgit Agency, 1877-1935".

[1] AAR, 1911-1 2, p. 44.

Biddulph aptly says, "...Whatever the faults and shortcomings of Kashmir rule may be, when judged by a European standard, it has undoubtedly conferred on this part of the country an amount of prosperity and security which could not have been attained under the Khushwaktia family, in whose grasp it would otherwise have remained. Freedom from the liability to be sold as slaves alone outweighs the disadvantage of being ruled by men of a different faith. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, of the inhabitants of Gilgit over forty years of age, nearly half have passed some portion of their lives in slavery. There is not a family of which one or more of their members have not been lost in this way.

"By a wise policy the Maharaja's rule has become exceedingly popular, and the inhabitants contrast their present flourishing condition and immunity from slavery with the state of their neighbours. and the recollections of the oppression they suffered under Gauhar Aman".[1]

The standard of comfort in the territories in question would have been higher but for the occasional befalling of natural calamities, such as floods, earthquakes, diseases and conditions of scarcity bordering upon famines.

The rivers flowing in the frontier regions were prone to occasional inundations which were occasioned by the bursting of glaciers or by avalanches and masses of ice which blocked up the rivers. In February 1878 the small village of Mir Mullick near Astore was partially destroyed by an avalanche, taking two lives.[2] In July 1894 there was an unusually heavy fall of rain in the Agency territory causing floods in its various rivers with the following results :—

(*a*) The important suspension bridge over the Rakhiat stream between Leychar and Jallipur, the bridge at Bunar and Gini, the bridge on the Boonji-Chilas road over the Thak stream, the bridge at Singol and at Thak were all destroyed by irresistible mud floods,

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[1] Col. R.C.F. Schomberg, p. 183; *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1974, p. 331.

[2] GA. Diary No. 8 of February 7, 1878, GOI, Fgn, Sec, July 1878, Nos. 53-94.

(*b*) The bridge over the Niltar stream at Nomal was carried away as also nearly every small bridge between Chalt and Hunza.

(*c*) One hamlet. Rattal, about 6 miles above Nagar, was almost entirely destroyed by the Hopar nallah, 23 men, women and children, being drowned or burried in the ruins. Much damage also was caused to cultivation, and all the Kuhls in the immediate neighbourhood of Hopar were destroyed.[1]

In 1905 a flood came to pass in the Gilgit river on account of its having been blocked by a glacier in the Ishkaman area. As a result, the suspension bridge at Gilgit and some houses in a number of villages were swept away. The cultivation also suffered a lot. In 1906, heavy floods came not only in the Gilgit river again but also in the Hunza river. The latter river rose about 50 feet above the ordinary summer level as a result of the bursting of a glacier. Several buildings were washed away and the Gilgit-Hunza road was very badly damaged. The flood in the Gilgit river destroyed 16 bridges on the Gilgit-Shandur road and 3 bridges on the Gilgit-Bandipur road.[2] In 1912-13, a minor flood occurred in the Shyok river in the Nubra valley of the Ladakh district. It caused some damage to the surrounding cultivation and cattle of the vicinity.[3] But two years later, when floods again occurred in the Ladakh district due to heavy and untimely fall of rain and snow, the damage done to the crops was considerable.[4] Another important flood occurred in 1915-16 in the Ruppal Nallah, the main feeder of the Kamri river in Astore. In the winter of 1914, the flow of the Nallah was stopped by the heavy masses of snow until it overflowed the tops of the glaciers in the summer of 1915 and burst into a disastrous flood. The lands along the banks of the Nallah were washed away and the water channel was damaged to a great extent.[1]

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[1] Assistant RK, to Vice-President Kashmir State Council, No. 3887 of August 16, 1894, JK, 27 of 1894 ; GA. Diary for the week ending 21st July 1894, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, September 1894, Nos. 371-392.

[2] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, pp. 6-7.

[3] AAR, 1912-13, p. 33.

[4] AAR, 1914-15, p. 12.

Earthquakes were also common in the frontier areas. On the night of the 25th-26th of May, 1899, a somewhat severe shock of earthquake occurred in Gilgit. The course of the disturbance appeared to have been from east to west. This was followed by several slighter shocks on the following days. The effect of the earthquake on the broken hill sides of the Gilgit valley was remarkable, and caused countless avalanches which continued throughout the night of the occurrence and on the morning of the following day. The whole sky became filled with dust and, except for the absence of wind, the atmosphere for many hours resembled that of a heavy dust storm.

Considerable damage was done to some of the buildings in Gilgit ; notably to the hospital, the main building of which was collapsed, and to the out-houses of the house then used as the Agency. The out-walls of this house were rendered ramshackle by the tremor. And the principal water-courses were also filled up with debris.

The weather which, previous to the earthquake, was unusually hot for the time of year was completely changed since, heavy clouds gathered and rain fell daily in the Gilgit valley, while in the higher hills there were constant storms of rain and hail.[2] Ladakh experienced constant tremors also but these were of slight intensities.[3]

In the summer of 1834, small-pox broke out in Ladakh with such a fatal virulence that as many as 14,000 persons, or more than one-twelfth of the whole population, were carried off.[4] In 1897 many deaths occurred in Punial, Ghizar, Darel and elsewhere in the Agency owing to malarial fever of a very virulent type. The Gilgit authorities sent a hospital assistant to visit the various villages of Punial to render medical aid to the diseased people in them.[1] In 1910 the inhabitants of the Gilgit district fell a victim to a serious outbreak of small-pox.[2] In November 1918, both Gilgit and Ladakh came in the grip of influenza.[3] Small-pox in a virulent form broke out in Astore in 1927-28, taking a heavy toll. The same year an epidemic of influenza caused considerable mortality in Ghizar and Yasin.[4] And in 1929 an influenza epidemic took a large toll from Nagar as did an epidemic of typhus in 1930.[5]

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[1] *Assessment Report* by Thakur Singh, p. 7.

[2] GA. Diary for the week ending 27th May, 1899, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, August 1899, Nos. 64-75.

[3] *Census of India, Kashmir*, Part I, 1911, p. 13.

[4] Cunningham, Alexander, *Ladakh*, 1854, p. 287.

Some damage to crops was done in one or the other part of the frontier districts in the years 1898-99,[6] 1903-04[7] and 1912-13.[8] But the real scarcity in that region occurred for the first time in 1914-15 when the unfavourable weather in Gilgit and grave floods in Ladakh occasioned by the heavy and untimely downpour and snow in April damaged the crops to a considerable extent. The State Government suspended the land revenue in several villages to provide relief to the suffering people.[9] In the following years, however, the agricultural conditions gradually improved[10], albeit there was again little setback in 1917-18 in Ladakh due to meagre rainfall and snow.[11] The years 1920-21 to 1921-22 were again glum. Thus, while an abundant rainfall resulted in considerable loss of both the Rabbi and Kharif crops in Gilgit in 1920-21 and in Ladakh the following year, inadequate rainfall encompassed a scarcity of the foodstuffs in Gilgit in 1921-22. As a result prices ruled high during these years.[1] But thereafter the crops were never below normal.[2]

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[1] GA. Diary for the week ending 30th September 1897, GOI, Fgn, Sec-F, November 1897, Nos. 534-43.

[2] First Assistant to RK. to C.M. Kashmir State, January 17, 1910, JK, Pol, No. 157/M-3 of 1910.

[3] Wazir Gilgit to Judge High Court, November 28, 1918, JK, Pol. No. 250/4-Jdl of 1918 ; *Census of India, Kashmir*, Part I, 1921, p. 4.

[4] AAR, October 1927 to October 1930, p. 36.

[5] *Census of India, Kashmir*, Part I, 1930, p. 60.

[6] AAR, 1898-1901, p. 190.

[7] AAR, 1901-04, p. 213.

[8] AAR, 1912-13, p. 33.

[9] AAR, 1914-15, p. 12.

[10] AAR, 1915-16, p. 59 ; AAR, 1916-17, p. 53.

[11] AAR, 1917-18, p. 32.

The above-mentioned natural calamities, clubbed with some other factors, like the remoteness and mountainous nature of these territories, hobbled and hampered the pace of economic development of Dardistan and Ladakh which remained backward and poor even at the end of the Dogra rule in 1947-48. On the indigence of the people of the Gilgit Agency, B.L. Kak remarks thus, "...the people of the Gilgit Agency were far behind. Their economic condition, until, 1952 was indisputably worse. Those were the days when the grim spectre of appalling poverty stalked every home and hearth. The three-lakh inhabitants, then frequently verged on destitution. During winter, the whole population remained indoors herbed up in their comfortless tiny huts built of mud and stones. Generally a whole family, as revealed by a Pakistani newsman in the Pakistan Times in 1949, shared a single blanket—men, women and Children creeping close to one another in order to keep warm".[3]

The above remarks of B.L. Kak are, however, based on the comparative study that he has made of the different territorial regions of Pakistan. Under the circumstances, the region under review cannot but give an impression of being miserably poor and backward.

And the comments on Ladakh of one authority are : "...in the time of Maharaja Partap Singh (1885-1925 A.D.), which saw the beginning of a modern administration in Jammu and Kashmir, Ladakh continued to be a neglected backwater of the State. As in the time of his two predecessors little was done for the economic, social or educational advancement of the people. The result was that the people of Ladakh and the other frontier regions came to be one of the most backward people, steeped in ignorance, superstition, squalor and poverty".[1]

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[1] AAR, 1920-23, pp. 36-38.

[2] AAR, 1923-24, p. 32 ; AAR, 1924-25, p. 20 ; AAR, 1925-26, p. 39.

[3] Kak, B.L., *The Fall of Gilgit*, 1977, p. 2.

When compared with other parts of the State, barring the Agency area, Ladakh was definitely grubby, backward, ignorant, poor and superstitious even at the end of the Maharaja's rule. But if a pre-Dogra picture of the territory is compared with the one that obtained in 1947-48, it becomes hard to subscribe to the views on Ladakh voiced above.

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[1] Ganhars, p. 190.

Appendix I

RULES FOR THE AWARD OF GILGIT SCHOLARSHIPS

1. Scholarships shall be awarded, held and drawn only as provided in the following rules :—

2. All merit scholarships shall be awarded according to the results of the annual examination.

3. All poverty scholarships shall be awarded on the ground of poverty subject to the student's passing the annual examination.

Note :—Students who fail to pass the annual examination once, shall also be given poverty scholarships if the Head Master of the school and the teachers concerned certify that the student is poor, intelligent and industrious, that he was regular in his attendance, that his conduct, character and behaviour are satisfactory, and that he failed to pass the examination by chance.

4. The number and value of Gilgit scholarships (Merit and Poverty) are shown in Appendix A with the names of the institutions wherein they are held. These scholarships are tenable for one year.

5. These scholarships shall be awarded to the natives of the Gilgit Wazarat and Political Illaqas and shall only be transferable to the schools in which such scholarships are held.

6. The award of these scholarships will be sanctioned by the Inspector.

7. No scholarship can be broken into parts nor can it be held jointly by two or more students.

8. When two or more candidates for a merit scholarship are bracketted together, the scholarship shall be awarded to the youngest candidate.

9. Scholarships can be drawn only for the periods noted below :

(*a*) Days of attendance.

(*b*) Sundays, sanctioned holidays and vacations.

(*c*) Absence without leave not exceeding two days in a month if shown to be unavoidable.

(*d*) Sick leave not exceeding 6 days at a time, or one month in the scholastic year granted by the Head Master.

(*e*) Casual leave not more than 6 days at a time and not more than 14 days in the scholastic year granted by the Head Master.

Note :—If Sundays or holidays occur within the period for which leave is granted under clauses (d) and (e), these days are not reckoned in the period of leave, but if the absence exceeds number of working days admissible, the scholarship ceases to be due for any part of the period of absence.

(*f*) To the close of the month in which an annual or Middle School Examination takes place if the Budget provision permits.

Note :—If a student is not sent up for the Middle School examination, or if he does not appear at the examination after his name has been sent up, his scholarship shall cease from the date of sending up admission forms in the former case and from the date of the commencement of the examination in the latter.

Note :—If a student does not appear in an annual examination his scholarship shall be drawn up to the commencement of the examination.

(*g*) In the case of transfer of a scholarship from one school to another during the time of transfer up to the limit of one month.

10. A scholarship shall lapse :

(*a*) if the holder dies or gives up his studies, or

(*b*) is absent without leave for more than 14 days at a time, or

(*c*) with ordinary leave for more than two months at a time, or

(*d*) with sick leave for more than three months at a time, or (*e*) ceases to attend the school at which his scholarship is tenable subject to the condition laid down in note 2, or

(*f*) fails to join a school within the period prescribed in the case of transfer, or

(*g*) to send an application for transfer within the period prescribed in Rule 19, and not otherwise.

Note 1:—The operation of this rule (b), (c), (d), (e), (f) and (g) shall be in force from the date the intimation regarding award of scholarship is given to students even though scholarships may be tenable from the beginning of the school year.

Note 2:—If a student ceases to attend the school which his scholarship is tenable before the award is communicated to him and joins another state school in Gilgit Wazarat or Political Illaqa, the procedure laid down in Rules 19 and 20 shall be followed.

Note 3:—If a student dies or gives up his studies, his scholarship shall lapse from the date of his death or discharge whether the award has been communicated to him or not.

11. A scholarship shall be forfeited by gross negligence, misconduct, misbehaviour or irregularity of attendance and not otherwise. In all such cases the scholarship shall be declared forfeited under the orders of the Inspector and shall cease to be paid to the holder.

Note :—The Head Master shall warn the student, who wilfully neglects his studies or is habitually irregular in his attendance once or twice, before he reports the case to the proper authority for the forfeiture of his scholarship. The operation of this note shall be in force from the date the intimation regarding award of scholarship is given to the student even though his scholarship may be tenable from the beginning of the school year.

12. As soon as the annual inspection of schools in the district including Political Illaqa is over, the Frontier Assistant Inspector shall submit to the Inspector a list (in triplicate) showing the names of students recommended for scholarships on the form given in Appendix B, for sanction. A general statement of marks obtained by the students in the annual examinations should also be submitted with the above lists.

13. The Inspector, shall, after the list has been thoroughly checked in his office, accord his sanction to the award of scholarships. A copy of the sanctioned list shall be submitted to the Minister of Education and the Accountant General.

14. A certificate in the following terms shall be signed by the Head Master and shall accompany all bills for scholarships :

> "I hereby certify that the scholarship holders on whose account the above amount has been drawn are regular in attendance and have conformed to the rules under which their scholarships are tenable."

Note :—The above certificate need not be given in the scholarship bills of the students (for the period prior to the intimation of award) who did not conform to the rules during that period. See notes to Rules 10 and 11.

15. The Political Agent, Gilgit, will operate upon the scholarship grant of the schools situated in the political area.

Note :—The bills of the Primary schools in the Gilgit Wazarat area will be prepared and submitted by the Head Teachers to the Head Master, Anglo Vernacular School, Gilgit, who will pass them for payment at the Treasury.

16. An appeal from an order of forfeiture under Rule 10 shall be made to the Minister of Education through proper channel.

17. When a scholarship lapses under rule 10 or is forfeited under rule 11 it will be reawarded by the Inspector to another deserving student.

Note 1 :—Scholarships lapsed under rule 10 clauses (b) and (f) can also be reawarded by the Inspector to the student who lost it under very special circumstances if recommended by the Head Master and the Frontier Assistant Inspector.

Note 2 :—Due intimation regarding a scholarship lapsed under rule 10 clauses (b) and (f) or that forfeited under rule 11 shall be given to the student holding the same by the Head Master concerned as soon as he finals that it has lapsed or has been forfeited, if within one month from the date of receipt of such intimation by the student, the Head Master concerned does not receive any appeal from him, his scholarship shall be considered as finally lapsed or forfeited and reawarded to another deserving student by the Inspector at the recommendation of the Head Master concerned and the Frontier Assistant Inspector.

18. Scholarships are not transferable from one school to another within the meaning of rule 5 except in cases when a scholarship holder can prove to the satisfaction of the Inspector of Schools that the change of school has been necessitated under circumstances over which he had no control.

19. If any scholarship holder desires that his scholarship should be transferred from one school to another in the Gilgit Wazarat or Political Illaqa, he must forward an application for its transfer giving full reasons of his change direct to the Head Master of the school in which his scholarship is tenable. This application should reach the Head Master of the transferring school within one month from the date of student's discharge, or his receiving intimation regarding award of a scholarship in the case of his changing the school before the communication of the award. The question of transfer shall then be taken up in due course through proper channel.

20. The Inspector shall sanction the transfer and communicate it to the Frontier Assistant Inspector.

Note :—If the Inspector is not satisfied with the reasons set forth by the student regarding the change of school, he may not sanction the transfer of the scholarship. In such a case if the student does not rejoin his former school within one month from the date of receipt of formal orders of the Inspector, which will be communicated to the student by the Head Master of the school in which his scholarship is tenable, his scholarship shall lapse and shall be granted to another deserving student.

21. Intimation regarding transfer of a scholarship shall be given to the Accountant General and the Minister of Education by the Inspector.

22. Head Masters should report all lapses and forfeitures of scholarships to the Inspector through proper channel. The Inspector, in his turn, shall intimate the same to the Minister of Education and the Accountant General.

23. Intimation regarding re-award of scholarships shall also be given by the Inspector to the Minister and the Accountant General.

Appendix A

Distribution list of Gilgit Scholarships

(1) *Gilgit Wazarat*

	Merit	Poverty
1. Astore	1 of Rs. 3/-	1 of Re. 1/-
2. Damote (Boonji)	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Re. 1-

Total 4 of Rs. 7/- p.m=Rs. 84/- per annum.

(2) *Political Illaqa*

1. Hunza	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Re. 1/-
2. Nagar	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Re. 1/-
3. Punial (Shingar)	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Re. 1/-
4. Gupis	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Re. 1/-
5. Yasin	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Re. 1/-
6. Chilas	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Re. 1/-

Total 12 of Rs. 18/- p.m.=Rs. 216/- per annum.

Grand total of Gilgit Scholarships=Rs. 300/- per annum.

(3) *Gilgit School Scholarships*

1. III Middle	1 of Rs. 4/-	1 of Rs. 2/-
2. II Middle	1 of Rs. 3/-	1 of Rs. 2/-
3. I Middle	1 of Rs. 2/-	1 of Rs. 1/8/-
4. V Primary	1 of Re. 1/-	Nil.
5. IV Primary	1 of Re. 1/-	Nil.

Total 8 of Rs. 16/8/- per month or Rs. 200/- per annum.

Appendix B

S. No.	*Name of Scholar*	*Kind of order class scholarship*	*Merit*	*Marks obtained in the annual examination in case of merit scholarship holders*	*Grounds for Amount recommendation*	*Remarks*

Signature and Designation

Dated

Appendix II

EXCERPTS FROM REPORT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED UNDER THE ORDERS OF HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA BAHADUR DATED THE 12TH NOVEMBER 1931 TO ENQUIRE INTO GRIEVANCES & COMPLAINTS

INTRODUCTORY

The Commission was appointed under the orders of His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur dated the 12th of November 1931. It consisted of four non-official members presided over by a European Officer whose services were lent to the Jammu and Kashmir State by the Government of India at His Highness' request. The four non-official members were made up of one Muslim and one Hindu from the Kashmir Province, and one Muslim and one Hindu from the Jammu Province, each nominated by their respective communities. The function of the Commission was to enquire into and report on the various complaints of a religious or a general nature already submitted to His Highness' Government and also such complaints as might be directly laid before the Commission.

The Commission began its sittings before the end of November, as soon as the Members from the Jammu Province arrived at Srinagar. Notices were circulated throughout the State announcing that the Commission was ready to examine any complaints that fell within its terms of reference, and dates were specified for different parts of the State territory by which all complaints should normally be presented. Unfortunately it was found impossible to adhere to these dates because the representatives of many important communities were unable to prepare their statements by the time appointed. Dissensions unhappily broke out among the representative bodies concerned and their attention was thus diverted from the work in hand. The Commission did all that lay in its power to restore unity in the ranks of these bodies and to encourage co-operation, but these efforts met with only partial success. The consequence of the delay that was thus occasioned has been that information in certain cases is still awaited from the representatives of different communities and also from various authorities from whom enquiries had to be made. The Commission has, however, been able to arrive at conclusions in regard to all the principal points that have been brought to its notice, and it is clearly undesirable to defer any longer the presentation of its report.

In the month of December the Hindu community of Jammu decided to re-call their member from the Commission, the reason assigned being that the Commission found itself unable to exclude from the scope of its enquiry questions relating to the Hindu Law of Inheritance. It is not altogether easy to understand the causes underlying this decision on the part of the Jammu Hindus, as they were fully aware at the time when they nominated their member that a complaint relating to this matter had already been submitted to the State authorities and that the Commission was consequently bound to proceed with its examination; the Hindu member from Jammu moreover took up his appointment without any special conditions attaching to his nomination being intimated to the Commission. The Jammu Hindu community declined, however, inspite of all arguments, either to let their member return or to appoint another in his place : the Commission accordingly, with the approval of His Highness' Government, continued its sittings with three non-official members only (two Muslims and one Hindu) instead of four as originally constituted. In the middle of January 1932 the Commission left Srinagar and moved down to Jammu.

All complaints of any material importance are dealt with seriatim below. Individual grievances which do not affect the general interests of any community or class of His Highness' subjects have been referred to the State Department concerned, as not falling within the terms of reference prescribed. The Commission has also refrained from incorporating in its report questions relating to the existing State Regulations in the matter of meetings and processions, newspapers and publications, and the formation of Anjumans, Sabhas and other Associations. In accordance with His Highness' announcement referred to above these questions were to be taken up separately apart from the Commission : under instructions from His Highness' Government, however, the points concerned have been informally discussed in the Commission and recommendations have already been submitted. Representations submitted to His Highness' Government by the Sikh community have not been examined by the Commission, because the Sikhs decided to present their complaints direct to the Prime Minister instead of to the Commission, and it is obviously desirable that all grievances relating to the community in question should be dealt with by one and the same authority.

Notes dissenting from the main body of the Report are appended. The names of the Members by whom these various notes have been compiled and the subjects to which they relate are as follows :

A. Messers Gulam Abbas & Ashai	...	1. Inheritance Law. 2. Rajput Training School. 3. Licensing of Arms.
B. Pt. Prem Nath Bazaz	...	Idgah Ground.
C. Ch. Ghulam Abbas	...	1. Recruitment in Civil Services. 2. Military Service. 3. Public Services Commission. 4. Malikana (Owners' dues). 5. Land Revenue.

EDUCATION

Of all complaints presented to the Commission, the most wide-spread and insistent are to the effect that certain communities, especially the Muslim community, are not given a fair chance in the matter of education and are not enlisted in sufficient numbers in the State service. As representation in the State services must depend to a very large extent on educational facilities, it is proposed to deal first with the question of education.

Some sixteen years ago Mr. Sharp, the Education Commissioner with the Government of India, visited Jammu and Kashmir on the invitation of the State authorities to give advice with regard to improvements required in the Education Department. It is a frequent cause of complaint that his recommendations have not been given due publicity and have been to a great extent ignored. His main proposals are included in the points dealt with below :

1. Primary Schools

Mr. Sharp expressed his opinion that from the educational point of view an increase in the number of Primary Schools formed the "principal requirement in the State". In this opinion the Commission entirely concurs : any educational developments that may be made in other directions should not be allowed to obscure the fact that an expansion in the matter of Primary Schools must be regarded as the main necessity.

In Mr. Sharp's time there were only 311 Primary Schools, including 36 aided schools, in the State. His advice was that the number of schools should be increased by 1,100 so as to provide primary education in villages with a population of 500 or over; he suggested that this programme should be carried out within a period of ten years.

The existing number of Primary Schools is now reported to be only 842, including 35 aided schools. The State programme provides for the opening of twenty new Primary Schools each year. It is obvious that this programme is far from sufficient if effect is to be given to Mr. Sharp's recommendations ; if the programme continues without modification, it means that some 28 years more will elapse before the

State Education Department attains to a standard which should have been reached in 1926. Since Mr. Sharp's time moreover the number of villages with a population of not less than 500 has considerably risen and is now reported to be 1,990 exclusive of 39 towns.

It is of great importance that the expansion of primary education should be accelerated. A definite programme showing the places in which new schools are to be established in the next few years should be prepared together with a map illustrating the present state of development and the progress to be made.

It is also very desirable that more attention should be paid to the provision of suitable buildings for Primary Schools. In this respect also Mr. Sharp's suggestions have not been carried out. At the present time Primary Schools are almost entirely situated in hired buildings and the annual expenditure on the rent of these buildings appears to be not less than Rs. 40,000. It is suggested that instead of hiring buildings in future, villages where Primary Schools exist might be given a lump sum grant, say Rs. 40, together with a free supply of timber and permission to construct a school on shamlat (village common) land. In this way recurring charges would be saved and in a few years' time the schools would be provided with considerably better accommodation than they now possess. A clear, defined programme might be drawn up accordingly. A simple model plan might be prepared, and the villagers concerned might be made responsible for the construction of schools and the periodical execution of repairs.

As regards the equipment for Primary Schools the present arrangement appears to be satisfactory.

No change seems to be necessary as regards the medium of instruction in Primary Schools which is now Urdu as contemplated by Mr. Sharp. It seems desirable, however, that boys should be instructed in Shikasta writing in accordance with Mr. Sharp's recommendations ; instructions in reading Patwaris' papers would also prove of considerable value to village boys.

Another point on which Mr. Sharp laid stress in the matter of primary education is an increase in the number of Mullas, known also as Arabic teachers ; the function of Mullas is to instruct Muslim boys in elementary religious principles. In Mr. Sharp's time the State employed eighty Mullas in 300 schools; he recommended that the number of Mullas in the existing 300 schools should be increased by one hundred, also that there should be Mullas in two thirds of the new schools which he advocated ; that is to say that the total number of Mullas should be not less than 800. He distinctly emphasised the point that Mullas were mainly useful in the centre in which they resided and commanded influence, in other words that they should not be liable to unnecessary transfers; the same principle should apply as far as practicable to all Primary School teachers in general.

Since the time of Mr. Sharp the number of Arabic teachers has increased by 17 only and now stands, according to statistics provided by the Education Department, at a total of 97. It is now recommended accordingly :

(*a*) that the number of Mullas employed by the educational authorities should be increased as rapidly as possible on the lines suggested by Mr. Sharp ; and

(*b*) that transfers of Mullas should be avoided as far as practicable ; these transfers are said to have been of frequent occurrence and to have had the effect of driving Mullas out of service.

It appears to the Commission to be a matter of great importance that the education imparted in village schools should as far as possible be such as to equip the pupils for the practice of that profession which they are normally expected to pursue. Lambardars, Zaildars and State officials should make it their business to encourage the spread of primary education to the best of their ability.

2. Middle Schools

In Mr. Sharp's time the number of Middle Schools is reported to have been 37. There are now 59 Middle Schools including six private institutions in the State ; 32 of these schools are situated in Jammu and 27 in Kashmir.

It appears that in the main Mr. Sharp's recommendations with regard to Middle Schools have been carried into effect.

Adequate accommodation is understood to be provided for State Middle Schools throughout Jammu and Kashmir, mostly in hired buildings. Overcrowding has been avoided by the provision of additional staff where this is necessary. The emoluments of teachers have been increased by the grant of allowances, the revision of their actual pay having been deferred on account of financial stringency.

3. High Schools

In Mr. Sharp's report it is recorded that the grants-in-aid to the three aided High Schools were as follows :

(*a*) C.M.S. High School, Srinagar	Rs. 4,600
(*b*) Islamia High School, Srinagar	Rs. 3,000
(*c*) R.C. High School, Baramulla	Rs. 4,380
Total	Rs. 11,980

Mr. Sharp suggested that these grants might be increased by a total of Rs. 10,000 ; he pointed out that liberal treatment in this respect was required in Jammu and Kashmir because the absence of fees in State Scoools prevented the charging of adequate fees in private institutions.

At the present time the grants-in-aid for the schools concerned are given as follows :

(*a*) C.M.S. High School, Srinagar	Rs. 15,415
(*b*) Islamia High School, Srinagar	Rs. 9,869
(*c*) R.C. High School, Baramulla	Rs. 8,066
Total	Rs. 33,350

It is thus apparent that in this particular Mr. Sharp's recommendations have been more than fulfilled. Whereas he suggested grants-in-aid amounting to Rs. 22,000 for the three High Schools concerned, the grants now allotted exceed a sum of Rs. 33,000. The State grant-in-aid rules have been remodelled on the general lines of the Punjab rules, though in some respects they are more liberal. The total amount of grants-in-aid now allotted in accordance with the rules is reported to be as follows :

Muslim Schools	...	Rs. 52,976
Hindu Schools	...	Rs. 25,175
Missionary Schools	...	Rs. 44,083
Total	...	Rs. 1,22,234

The corresponding figures of Mr. Sharp's time are not given in his report.

The Muslims of Jammu have represented that they are in urgent need of a site for the construction of the Islamia High School. The site which they prefer is that of the Gandoo di Chawani. In this matter their request appears to deserve favourable consideration. As regards assistance in the matter of building, this will be regulated by the grant-in-aid rules.

In State High Schools the number of Muslim students now stands at 3,663 as compared with 5,683 non-Muslims : the proportion of Muslim students has markedly increased since the time of Mr. Sharp, and care should be taken to see that Muslims receive all practicable encouragement in this matter.

A regular programme for the construction of Middle Schools and High Schools should be drawn up in accordance with Mr. Sharp's suggestions : the needs of all important localities should be duly considered.

4. Colleges

As regards Colleges satisfactory progress has been achieved. Accommodation is on the whole sufficient for present requirements.

A complaint has been made that in the Sri Pratap College, Srinagar, Muslims are not given a fair chance of admission to the Science classes which are restricted on account of the limited amount of accommodation available ; the number of Muslim science students in this College is 18 out of a total of 145. It appears, however, that in the Jammu College, where no such restriction in necessary, the proportion of Muslims availing themselves of instruction in science is even lower, namely 14 out of a total of 132. The Principal of the Srinagar College should be careful to see that Muslims are given a fair chance in this matter. Similarly the Mohammedan Inspector of Schools should interest himself in the science classes at schools where any restriction on the number of admissions has been enforced ; the appointment of a Mohammedan Inspector is discussed under heading (11) below.

5. Scholarships

In the matter of scholarships specially reserved for Mohammedans it appears that in Mr. Sharp's time the amount provided by the State was Rs. 3,200, exclusive of Rs. 254 for girls. Mr. Sharp suggested that the amount should be increased by an additional annual grant of Rs. 2,000.

The figures supplied by the Education Department show as follows the budget provision and the actual expenditure on Mohammedan scholarships for the past five years :

Year	Budget	Actual Expenditure
1927-28	2,100	1,103
1928-29	4,200	4,072
1929-30	7,200	6,486
1930-31	19,400	16,321
1931-32	23,320	(not yet known)

From this it will be seen that Mr. Sharp's recommendation in this respect, though it does not appear to have received due consideration for several years, has now been amply carried out. The assistance given to Mohammedans in this matter now stands at more than four times what Mr. Sharp recommended. The present allotment seems to be fully sufficient, but there is one point to which attention should be drawn, namely the disparity which exists between the individual awards prescribed for :

(*a*) Special Mohammedan scholarships ; and

(*b*) Merit and other scholarships.

At present a special Mohammedan scholarship is considerably more valuable than other kinds of scholarships. The reason for this has not been ascertained, but it is claimed, and with good reason, that the effect has been to divert to special Mohammedan scholarships the attention of such Muslims as might successfully compete for scholarships of other kinds. It appears desirable that the scale prescribed for special Mohammedan scholarships and merit scholarships should be the same: special Mohammedan scholarships would in that case be reserved for such Muslims as are unable to attain success in the matter of scholarships open to general competition. It is also recommended that a higher proportion of the special Mohammedan scholarships grant should be allotted to High Schools and Colleges rather than to Middle Schools, in order to encourage higher education among Muslims; the distribution should be governed each year by the requirements of the individual institutions concerned.

In the matter of free studentships a due proportion should be allotted to all communities, care being taken to see that the rules prescribed are fairly carried out in practice.

Also a fair share should be allotted to all communities in the matter of orphanage scholarships etc. From the latest figures available as supplied by the Education Department it appears that out of 190 students provided with orphanage scholarships 148 were Hindus and only 42 were Muslims. It is also suggested that scholarships now known by the name of "Cow Protection Scholarships" might be merged in orphanage scholarships, as the object of such scholarships appears to have no concern with the protection of cows. It would appear from the correspondence supplied by the educational authorities that the original intention of "Cow Protection Scholarships" was to provide relief for orphans and poor students irrespective of the community to which they belong, but it seems that the practical benefit has almost entirely been reserved for one community alone.

It may be mentioned that, apart from special Mohammedan scholarships, the present grant for which, as stated above, amounts to Rs. 23,320, the only other scholarship allotments specifically reserved for particular communities are as follows:

Rajputs	...	Rs. 4,850.
Sikhs	...	Rs. 2,880.
Depressed classes	...	Rs. 8,000.

It is understood that State scholarships are tenable not only in State Schools, but also in aided schools.

6. Normal Schools and Teachers' Training

In the time of Mr. Sharp there was one Normal School at Srinagar and no other such school throughout the State. There are now normal Schools at Srinagar and at Jammu ; and training classes intended specially for the training of Mullas exist at Udhampur, Muzafferabad, Anantnag, Gilgit, Leh and Skardu. Stipends are provided for one hundred students and are of the value of Rs. 10 each. This provision for training appears to be satisfactory, but it is suggested that, as far as primary teachers are concerned, the qualification might be middle pass instead of matriculate. Mr. Sharp apparently considered that even a middle pass need not invariably be insisted on ; he remarked that the products of vernacular middle schools often make the best primary school teachers. He also observed that as far as possible the teachers in village schools should be villagers belonging to the main community concerned.

In Mr. Sharp's time the number of teachers sent for training outside the State was 18. The number has now been reduced to 10, but in view of the fact that the extension of primary schools is considerably more important than that of secondary schools, no further development in this respect appears to be indicated in the immediate future.

The question of assisting aided schools in the training of their teachers deserves consideration.

7. Medical Attention

The arrangements made in this particular seem to be adequate. There are at present two special dispensaries, each under an Assistant Surgeon, one in Jammu and one in Srinagar, specially reserved for students. Medical officers in charge of dispensaries at selected muffasil centres are given an allowance of Rs. 8 per 100 boys for the examination of students.

8. Technical

There was only one technical institution in the time of Mr. Sharp and that was situated at Srinagar. There are now technical institutions at Srinagar, Jammu, Anantnag, Baramulla, Mirpur, Kishtwar, Samba and Bhadarwah. Frequent complaints have been made regarding the inefficiency of the technical institute at Srinagar ; it is said to be deteriorating so far from progressing, and the main reason assigned for this is the lack of proper qualification on the part of the Superintendent.

The following recommendations put forward by Mr. Sharp in the matter of technical training require consideration ;

(*a*) training should be given to the sons of craftsmen, for instance in wood carving etc.

(*b*) special scholarships should be given to Mohammedan students ; and

(*c*) simple instruction in the 3 Rs. should be provided for the sons of craftsmen where they are illiterate.

These three recommendations do not appear to have been fully carried out.

It has been represented by the Kashmiri Pandits that special treatment should be afforded to them in the matter of technical training on the ground that, as the proportion of clerical appointments falling to their community decreases, they must have recourse to other outlets for employment. The Pandits like all other communities, should be given a fair chance in this matter and might receive special encouragement if they manifest an increased tendency to take advantage of technical education ; but there seems no reason to suppose that they will not be in a position to compete successfully with other students. Under Mr. Andrews, the late Superintendent, the most distinguished students at the technical institute are reported to have been Pandits.

9. Girls Schools

In the time of Mr. Sharp the number of girls schools in the State stood at sixteen. He recommended that sixteen more should be added.

The number of educational institutions for girls in the State is now reported to be as follows :

High Schools	...	2
Middle Schools	...	14
Primary Schools	...	128
Total	...	144

Mr. Sharp recommended that a grant of Rs. 1,000 might be provided for scholarships for girls. The present allotment stand at Rs. 5,600 including widows' scholarships.

As regards the training of female teachers Mr. Sharp's recommendations have also been more than fulfilled. The provision is now shown at Rs. 4,114 as compared with Rs. 1,500 proposed by Mr. Sharp. Now that female education has been made compulsory in certain centres it will be necessary to increase the allotment still further.

In the matter of widows' scholarships and all other scholarships all communities should be given a fair chance of competing. In localities where the overwhelming bulk of the population belongs to one community it seems desirable that the majority of teacheresses should belong to that community due regard being paid as far as practicable to the interests of other classes. In schools frequented by Muslim girls religious instruction is desirable ; also where any other community may desire the same facilities similar arrangements should be made. Such arrangements in regard to "pardah" as may be necessary to satisfy the feelings of Muslim parents should be provided.

As regards the medium of instruction in girls schools it seems desirable that in the case of State schools the medium should ordinarily be Urdu, as Urdu is the court language. Where denominational schools are justified and a separate school is started, or where separate classes can be conveniently arranged for Hindu girls, the medium might be Hindi if the local Hindu population so desires.

10. Proportion of Muslim teachers and staff

It does not appear from Mr. Sharp's report what the exact proportion of Muslim teachers etc. was at the time of his visit to the State. From figures now supplied by the Education Department it is understood that the proportion is at present as follows :

		Muslims	Total
Teachers	...	718	2,201
Head Masters of State Middle Schools	...	3	49
Head Masters of State High Schools	...	1	15
Professors in Colleges	...	4	33
Demonstrators	...	1	8
Inspecting Staff	...	3	14
Gazetted Officers	...	4	27

It will thus be seen that the number of Muslim employees is regretably low ; efforts should be made to rectify this state of affairs. Mr. Sharp recommended that the number of Muslim Head Masters in distinctively Muslim villages should be increased and that in order to bring this about a sufficient number of stipends should be provided for Muslims in the Normal School and in training classes. It appears that during the last five years the number of Muslim stipendiaries nominated for the training classes has been only 73 as compared with 132 non-Muslims. In order to carry out Mr. Sharp's recommendation it seems desirable that a list should be prepared of distinctively Muslim towns and villages and that the educational authorities should endeavour to regulate their training stipends so that in the course of the next ten years a sufficient number of Muslim teachers may be trained. So far as may be necessary, the number of stipends might be increased to provide for a sufficient number of non-Muslim trained teachers where such are required. The number of Muslim teachers and Professors in High Schools and Colleges also requires to be enhanced. It seems desirable in the interests of efficiency that the senior Professors of English at both the Colleges should be graduates of English University.

At present in the Education Minister's secretariat, which consists of twelve officials from the Secretary downwards, the list supplied shows that not a single Muslim is employed. This represents a distinctly undesirable condition of affairs and Mr. Sharp's recommendation in this matter has not been carried out. Similarly in the offices of Inspectors of Education the number of Muslims is inadequate. Steps should be taken to put this right. It is only fair to point out, however, that for the last seven years the Education Department has been in the charge of a Muslim Minister.

11. Special Mohammedan Inspector

Mr. Sharp's report indicates that at the time of his visit there was a special Inspector for Mohammedan education. There is at the present time an official known as Assistant Inspector for Mohammedan Education, but it appears that for the last eleven or twelve years this official has been deflected from his proper work and has been deputed to discharge the general duties of an ordinary Assistant Inspector in one particular division. The appointment of a special Mohammedan Inspector is a matter of very considerable importance and this post should be revived as soon as possible ; the incumbent should not be subordinate to any Provincial Inspector. It should be the duty of this officer to attend generally to the progress of Mohammedan education in all grades and to see that the policy laid down by the State authorities is duly carried out.

The general programme outlined by Mr. Sharp in regard to Inspectors should also be brought into effect.

12. Revision of Pay

Professors and Provincial Inspectors and the lowest grades of primary teachers appear to have received a substantial increase in pay in accordance with Mr. Sharp's recommendations. In the case of other employees of the Education Department there has been no increase in pay proper but dearness and temporary allowances have been granted : in the matter of pay the Education Department seems to have been more unfortunate than other Departments of the State. It seems desirable that the question of revising pay should be taken up as soon as practicable.

13. Oriental Learning

It is represented that in recent years the funds provided for the propagation of oriental learning have been confined to the promotion of Sanskrit alone. This change is to be depreciated.

In the matter of Arabic and Sanskrit teachers it seems expedient that the pay should be equalised as far as practicable, provided that the qualifications are the same.

14. Periodicals in Colleges

A request has been preferred that the number of Muslim periodicals in Colleges should be increased. It appears to the Commission that papers and periodicals supplied to Colleges should as far as possible be non-denominational.

15. Frontier

A proposal has been made that the Middle Schools in the frontier districts of Gilgit and Ladakh should be converted into High Schools. It is impossible unfortunately to carry this proposal into effect because it is impracticable to arrange with the University authorities outside the State for the holding of the prescribed examinations in frontier districts.

Special frontier scholarships are now granted, the provision in the current year being shown as Rs. 1,820 apart from scholarships tenable in Middle schools. This provision might well be increased as funds permit, since in certain frontier districts education is very backward.

The provision of technical schools in Gilgit and Ladakh is also worthy of consideration when the finances of the State allow of these developments.

A complaint is made by the Buddhist community that sufficient instruction is not given in Bodhi, the common language of Ladakh. It appears that the Bodhi language is now taught in Primary classes and is optional in Middle classes. There is, however, a justifiable complaint in the fact that Bodhi text books are not provided. This defect should be remedied as soon as possible ; it is understood that text books have actually been prepared in the State and merely required printing in the Bodhi language.

16. Depressed classes

There is at present a grant of Rs. 8,000 provided for students of depressed classes. All such students can now read both in Government and Aided schools. The propagation of education amongst the depressed classes should receive due attention.

Amongst the points referred to above, particular attention may be drawn to the following, especially in order to assist Muslims in the matter of education :

(*a*) Increase in the number of Primary Schools.

(*b*) Increase in the number of Muslim teachers including Mullas.

(*c*) Equalisation of Muslim and other scholarships in value.

(*d*) Appointment of a special Mohammedan Inspector.

From what has been said it must not be supposed that the State authorities have done nothing to push forward Muslim education—they have, for instance, given liberal assistance to Muslim institutions in the form of grants-in-aid, and a generous allotment is now provided for Muslim students in the form of scholarships. Those who criticise imperfections would do well to acknowledge benefits received. Since the time of Mr. Sharp the annual expenditure on education in the Jammu and Kashmir State has risen from Rs. 6,94,940 to Rs. 18,26,489.

(Sd) B.J. Glancy
(Sd) P.N. Bazaz
(Sd) G.A. Ashai
(Sd) Ghulam Abbas

EXCERPTS FROM THE ORDERS OF HIS HIGHNESS' GOVERNMENT, JAMMU & KASHMIR ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN THE GLANCY COMMISSION'S REPORT

ORDERS ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS IN THE GLANCY COMMISSION'S REPORT

The Commission presided over by Mr. Glancy, which was appointed under the order, dated 11th November 1931, by His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur have now presented their report.

His Highness has been pleased to command that his thanks should be conveyed to Mr. Glancy and the members of the Commission for the painstaking care and thoroughness with which they have conducted their labours. The report is an impartial, exhaustive, logical and lucid exposition of all the matters considered by the Commission under their terms of reference.

His Highness has been graciously pleased to accept the recommendations contained in the main report and to order that steps shall be taken to implement them at the earliest possible moment. The orders below are issued with this end in view :—

ORDERS

I. RELIGIOUS

Restoration of sacred buildings etc.

His Highness the Maharaja Bahadur is pleased to command that the recommendations of the Commission in respect to the restoration of sacred buildings etc., should be strictly carried out. The Governors of Jammu and Kashmir will be responsible for seeing that the necessary action is taken.

The Madin Sahib Shrine at Srinagar should be handed over as soon as the representatives of the Muslim community notify their wishes, duly endorsed by the Anjuman Islamia on behalf of the Shia community as to the authority to be given charge thereof.

II. EDUCATION

The Department concerned should submit proposal for the fulfilment of the Commission's recommendations in all respects.

In particular the Department should devote its attention to the expansion of Primary Education. A definite programme should be prepared and kept up to date ; it should be accompanied by a map illustrating the progress already effected and the development contemplated in the course of the next three years. A programme for the construction of School buildings should also be drawn up, and the Department should report whether there is any objection to the immediate adoption of Commission's proposal that lumpsum grants should be allotted to villagers for the building of schools.

Steps should be taken to increase the number of Mullahs, or Arabic teachers and the unnecessary transfer of Mullahs, as in the case of all village teachers, should be avoided.

Instruction in Shikasta writing and in the reading of Patwari's papers should form part of the curriculum of Primary Schools. The Department should see that the education imparted in village schools is such as to equip the pupils for their occupation. Revenue officials should take an interest in the Primary Schools situated within their charges, and should encourage Zaildars and Numberdars to do the same.

The Department should also draw up a programme in regard to Middle and High Schools and further expansion in this direction should take place when funds permit.

The Governor of Jammu should report whether there is any objection to the allotment of the Gandoo di Chawani site for the construction of the Islamia High School. Should any such objection exist an alternative site should be suggested.

Care should be taken to see that admission to Science classes in Schools and Colleges is impartially regulated so as to cater for the legitimate interests of all communities.

Special Mohammedan Scholarships should be equated in value with merit scholarships and effect should be given to the Commission's proposals in the matter of free studentships, orphanage scholarships etc.

The training of teachers should receive attention as recommended, and the question of assisting aided schools in this matter should be given consideration. For teachers in Primary Schools a "Middle pass" should be regarded as a sufficient qualification.

In the matter of Technical education, action should be taken on the lines indicated in the Commission's report. The question whether a change of management is desirable in regard to the Srinagar Technical Institute should be examined without delay.

The recommendations put forward as regards teacheresses in Girls' Schools, the medium of instruction and arrangements for Purdah should be carried out.

The proportion of Muslims employed as teachers, Inspectors and clerks in the Education Department Secretariat should be increased as soon as possible. A Special Inspector for the promotion of Mohammedan Education should be appointed and should work independently of Provincial Inspectors.

The Commission's proposals in respect of the revision of pay when funds permit, oriental learning, the supply of periodicals and frontier education are approved. The allotment of increased funds for frontier scholarships should be provided as soon as practicable and Bodhi text-books should be supplied, where they are required, in Ladakh.

Appendix III

RULES FOR THE AWARD OF BALTISTAN AND LEH SCHOLARSHIPS

JK 184/P-20 of 1916

1. The scholarships shall be awarded, held and drawn only as provided in the following rules :—

2. All merit scholarships shall be awarded according to the results of the Annual Examination.

3. No scholarships can be broken into parts nor held jointly by two or more students. When two or more candidates for a merit scholarship are bracketted together, the scholarship will be awarded to the younger boy.

4. Scholarships can be drawn only for the periods noted below :

(*a*) Days of attendance.

(*b*) Sundays, sanctioned holidays and vacations.

(*c*) Absence without leave not exceeding two days in a month, if shown to be unavoidable.

(*d*) Sick leave not exceeding 6 days at a time or one month in the scholastic year.

(*e*) Casual leave, not more than six days at a time and not more than 14 days in the scholastic year, granted by the Head Master.

Note :—If Sundays or holidays occur within the period for which leave is granted under clauses (d) and (e), these days are not reckoned in the period of leave, but if the absence exceeds the number of working days admissible, the scholarship ceases to be due for any part of the period of absence.

5. A scholarship shall lapse, if it is not taken up by the holder within a month of its award, or if the holder dies, is absent without leave for more than 14 days at a time, or ceases to attend the school at which it is granted and not otherwise.

6. A scholarship shall be forfeited by gross negligence, laziness or irregularity of attendance and not otherwise. The Head Master of every school in which the scholarship is held shall be responsible that no scholarship continues to be paid to any student, who wilfully neglects his studies, or is habitually irregular in his attendance. In all such cases, after due warning, the scholarship shall be declared forfeited and shall cease to be paid to the holder.

7. A certificate in the following form shall be signed by the Head Master of the school and shall accompany all bills for scholarships :

"I hereby certify that the scholarship holders on whose account the above amount has been drawn, are regular in attendance and have conformed to the rules under which their scholarships are tenable".

8. These scholarships shall be awarded to the natives of the Ladakh district (Wazarat) only and shall in no case be transferred from one school to another.

9. Each scholarship shall be tenable for one year only.

10. The Assistant Inspector shall after the completion of the annual inspection of the district submit to the Inspector a list showing the names of candidates for his sanction.

11. *Scholarships re-awarded* : When a scholarship lapses under rule 5, it can be re-awarded provided the Frontier Assistant Inspector considers that the forfeiture was necessitated by circumstances beyond the holder's control.

12. A list of the award roll will be forwarded for record to the Accountant General within a month of its publication by the Inspector of schools in form shown in appendix 2. The said officer will also be informed of all changes, which might subsequently take place.

13. The number and value of these scholarships is shown in Appendix I with the names of the Institutions, wherein they can be held.

14. Lapses and forfeitures of scholarships to be reported :—The Head Master and Assistant Inspector should report in form shown in Appendix III all lapses or forfeitures of scholarships to the Inspector.

15. *Scholarships how drawn* : The amount due for each scholarship, for each month will be drawn by the Frontier Assistant Inspector in the form prescribed for such bills by the Accountant General.

16. A list of the award will be submitted to the Minister of Education within a month of its publication by the Inspector of Schools.

Sd/-
Minister of Education,
Jammu and Kashmir State.

Appendix IV

RULES FOR GRANT OF LAND ON THE KARBATHANG CANAL

JK 192/1-9 of 1908

1. *Name of the Colony* : The colony will be called "Sri Pratap Colony" in honour of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Bahadur.

2. *Survey and Demarcation of Lands* : The lands on the Karbathang Canal will be surveyed and marked out into separate squares of 120 Karams each. This will be split up into 9 sub-squares of uniform size on the Killa bandi system every such sub-square measuring . . . . 40 x 40 Karams and leaving a margin of one Karam round each sub-square for compulsory tree planting path and water-courses, there will be a balance of almost exactly one acre for cultivation. Further submission of these sub-squares will be left to the convenience and discretion of cultivators.

As far as practicable the water courses will follow the sides of squares.

3. *Area of each allotment* : One square will usually be allotted to each colonist but if a sufficient number of qualified colonists is not forthcoming larger grants may be made to big land owners.

4. *Qualifications of Colonists* : A qualified colonist must have the following qualifications :

(*a*) he must be a well conducted and bonafide agriculturist of Tehsil Kargil or Skardu and fit to cultivate land with his own hands ;

(*b*) he must have at least one plough bullocks and other means to bring the land under cultivation and to arrange for cultivation of the holding already owned by him;

(*c*) his present holding should not exceed the general average of the Illaqa to which he belongs;

(*d*) grants will usually be made to cultivators with some holding but a few squares may be given at the discretion of the colonization officer to men of the local yeomen class . . . . in view of their services in connection with settlement and construction of the canal.

(*ii*) Subject to above provisions preference will be given to :

(*a*) Cultivators of villages connected with Treaty Road for revenues purposes.

(*b*) Cultivators who have rendered assistance at the construction of the Karbathang canal.

5. *Grant of Taccavi to Colonists* : An attempt will be made to procure selfsupporting colonists but if grant of taccavi loans for purchase of seed or plough bullocks etc. becomes necessary, the matter will be separately reported and decided hereafter.

6. *Distribution of land for fodder* : In addition to grants referred to in rule 3, a certain amount of area will be granted to each colonist for cultivation of lucerne locally called up. An area limit for this land will be laid down after ascertaining extent of irrigable slopes and the wishes of the Zamindars on the spot.

7. *Village sites* : As the Zamindars will prefer to have their houses in their separate squares, no rules are required regarding village sites and enclosures but in consultation with colonists it will be desirable to indicate sites for houses so as to bring the hamlets in a line and add to the beauty of the colony.

8. *Construction and maintenance of the Canal and Water Courses* : The canal as well as its main branches along the different plateau and a storage tank if necessary will be constructed by the State. But small water courses to run water from field to field will have to be cut by the colonists themselves.

(*ii*) In view of the concession that no separate abiana will be levied on the lands in the colony the colonists will be required to run the canal by executing the annual cleaning and ordinary repairs under the supervision of the Tehsil officials, their joint responsibility in this behalf being regulated by the old established custom of the country.

(*iii*) Proposals will be submitted later on for the appointment of a Mirab to see to the necessary repairs to the canal and water courses and the distribution of water. Riwaj-i-abpashi will be prepared for the guidance of the Mirab and the colonists.

(*iv*) But in case of any extraordinary or serious accident damaging the canal to the extent beyond the power of the colonists to repair, arrangement will be made to execute the special repairs by the State, the colonists only supplying manual labour.

9. *Commencement of Possession* : For the purposes of revenue, the possession of a colonist will be counted from the harvest the crops of which can reasonably be sown after the land has actually been made over to the colonist.

10. *Concession Period* : The colonists will hold their lands revenue free for the first 2 years of their possession after which full revenue will have to be paid.

11. *Exemption from Revenues* : For the full 5 years from the commencement of their possession the colonists will be exempted from revenues (This is a compulsory system obtaining in this locality under which the villagers have to attend to the point and other requirements of a Parao). At the end of this period they will have to supply revenues in accordance with orders passed by competent authority.

12. *Assessment of revenue* : (*i*) The assessment will be proposed by the colonization officer at the end of the concession period on the basis of experience gained of the outturn of the land during this period.

(*ii*) For the purposes of these rules the Settlement Officer, Ladakh, will be colonization officer of the colony.

(*iii*) The revenue in kind will be counted at the same rate as that prevailing for the time being in the rest of the Kargil Tehsil.

Kind revenue will be realised in wheat and grain only the ratio thereof being fixed at the time of assessment in proportion to the outturn of each staple.

In view, however, of the expenditure incurred by the state and heavy grain requirements of the district, the ratio of kind to cash revenue may be taken at a higher figure than that prevailing in the country. Definite proposals will be submitted later on by the colonization officer.

13. No separate abiana to be levied.

The colonists will not be required to pay abiana in addition to the revenue and rates fixed under rule 12.

Note : The expenditure borne by the State in the construction of the canal and the nature of irrigation will be borne in mind by the assessing officer but it is impossible to work out a Khushki Parta and abiana separately for the district where cultivation is possible without irrigation. Also it is necessary to have fixed demand and it will be a gross mistake to levy rates on crops grown which will subject the cultivators to serious harassment from low paid Patwar agency.

14. *Plantation of trees by Colonists* : The colonists will have to plant sufficient number of trees along the main branches and water courses around their fields and houses and at other suitable places and to look after them properly.

(*ii*) Detailed instructions regarding the number of trees and the mode of planting them will be issued by the colonization officer. The willow and poplar cuttings will as far as possible be supplied from the State gardens and nurseries.

Note : The Zamindars will require no compulsion for planting the trees but instructions will be necessary regarding mode of planting and sites etc. to prevent rank growth and unsightly plantations.

(*iii*) All such trees planted by the colonists on their lands will be the exclusive property of the colonists. The trees planted by State officials on Khalsa lands will belong to the State.

(*iv*) The colonists will be entitled to make use of the State trees in planting which they have assisted by pollarding them at fixed periods in accordance with the instructions issued in this behalf by the colonization officer.

16. *State Plantations* : In order to keep a sufficient stock of young fruitful and unfruitful trees State nurseries will be planted at suitable sites under the supervision of the Mirab and the plots under nurseries will be treated as "Kharij

Bachh". From these nurseries plants and cuttings will be supplied to the Zamindars according to the rules for the time being in force.

(*ii*) In addition to nurseries, State trees will be planted along the canal and road sides and State gardens will be planted at convenient places to meet State requirements. The plantation will be carried on under the supervision of the State officials and will belong to the State.

17. *Grazing Grounds* : With due regard to the existing rights, the slopes between Karbathang plateau and the villages of Chheskor Sofi, Foh, Tingdo, Skambo and Pashkam will belong to the colony for grazing purposes. The colonists will graze their cattle on the said slopes in accordance with the grazing rules for the time being in force.

Note : These rules will be framed later on by the colonization officer after ascertaining the existing rights of the neighbouring villages.

18. *Status of the Colonists* : From the time of their paying full revenue to the State and subject to their having fully complied with all the conditions of the grant, the colonists will have the same Assami rights over their grants as are enjoyed by the other Assamis of the Kargil Tehsil.

(*ii*) The succession and alienation of land in the colony will be subject to the rules and regulations in force in the Kargil Tehsil.

19. *Proprietory rights* : The proprietory rights in the land will be vested in the Darbar.

20. *Liabilities of the Colonisis and their ejection in case of failure to cultivate* : Every colonist shall be bound to show due diligence in bringing his grant under cultivation and to build a suitable house and bring at least one half of the grants under cultivation within one year of allotment.

(*ii*) Any colonist who, without reasonable cause, fails to show due diligence in utilising his grant will in the first instance receive a notice in writing that in case of continuing default he will be liable to ejectment. If default continues during the open season next following, the notice, he shall be liable to summary ejection by order of the colonization officer at any time before he has received Assami rights under rule 18.

(*iii*) After receiving Assami rights, the colonist will be subject to the same regulation as ordinary Assamis.

21. *Appointment of Lambardars and Zaildars* : (*i*) A sufficient number of Mukadams will be appointed by the colonization officer to carry on administration of the colony. They will receive no remuneration for 2 years but at the end of 2 years, the Mukadams will be made Pacca Lambardars provided they fulfil the usual conditions. They will then receive Panjotra at the rate of 5 per cent of the revenue of their charge.

(*ii*) If found necessary, an influential local Zamindar will be selected by the colonization officer to work as Mir Mukadam. He will also receive no remuneration for the period the colonists hold their lands revenue free. At the end of this period a report will be made to confirm his appointment as Zaildar provided he gives satisfaction. On his being appointed as Zaildar he will be given the same pay as other Zaildars of the Tehsil.

22. (*i*) Applications for grant of land on the Karbathang canal will be made to the colonization officer in person or by post. These applications will be exempt from the stamp duty and will have to be made on a printed form prescribed by the colonization officer and supplied from the Wazarat and Tehsil offices gratis to all intending applicants.

(*ii*) The applications will state the following particulars :

(*a*) Name, parentage and residence of the applicant or joint applicants.

(*b*) Details of the area previously owned by him together with revenue.

(*c*) That he can make satisfactory arrangements to cultivate his previous belongings.

(*d*) That he would take up his residence in the colony and construct a house at his own expense.

(*e*) The number and names of his male relatives migrating with him to the colony and details of live-stock to be carried with him to the colony.

(*iii*) A Fard Intikal of Jamabandi duly signed by Patwari will also be attached to the application.

(*iv*) The actual selection of colonists from a number of candidates if many apply, will as far as possible be done on the spot by the colonization officer himself in the presence of the assembled villagers and the officers and with the village records before him.

Appendix V

1. Captain R.L. Kennion, Assistant to the Resident for Leh, Ladakh, to Resident in Kashmir, No. 509 of November 8, 1899, GOI, Fgn, Front-A, February 1900, Nos. 17-18.

I have the honour to furnish the following detailed account of my visit to the town of Rudok reported in the Leh diary submitted under cover of my letter No. 372, dated 21st of September, 1899.

2. It was last year found necessary in the interests of the trade between Ladakh and the neighbouring portion of Tibet to send a delegate to Rudok, which is the headquarters of the Jongpen or local Governor, to enquire into a dispute which had arisen between the Ladakhi traders and local officials. To understand the origin of this dispute it should in the first place be explained that as practically no grain is grown in this part of Western Tibet, the people are dependent on Ladakh for their supply, giving in exchange wool and salt. In 1897 owing to a threatened scarcity of food stuffs in Ladakh, the exportation of grain across the border was prohibited, a measure that was perhaps inadvisable, as such matters may usually be left to automatically regulate themselves. This action on the part of the Ladakh authorities was taken by the Tibetans to constitute a breach of custom established by long usage and by treaty, and there can be no doubt that they were thereby very seriously inconvenienced. Last year their dissatisfaction took the form of pulling down the houses owned by Ladakhi traders in Rudok, the reason alleged by them for this summary measure being that the traders had refused to pay rent. On a report of the occurrence being received in Leh, Ramzan Ali, a Mohammedan Arghun, was deputed to Rudok to enquire into the causes of the dispute, as reported in Major Trench's Ladakh No. 30, dated 28th January 1899. A settlement of the matter was arranged. It was agreed that the traders should in future pay rent for their houses, and on the

part of the Lhasan officials it was promised that the traders should not again be molested. The damage caused to the traders by the destruction of their houses was assessed and the amount paid over to them. A fine was also imposed on the Chief Instigator of the attack on the traders' property, at the same time the Governor of Gartok, who is the Rudok Jongpen's superior officer, wrote to the British Joint Commissioner and to the Frontier Wazir complaining of the interruption of trade occasioned by prohibition of the export of grain, a measure which he pointed out with some truth was an infraction of treaty.

3. In order to give some idea as to the amount of importance which should be attached to this incident, a few words are necessary regarding the nature and extent of the trade with this pact of Western Tibet. The products of this country are wool, salt (from the Rudok salt lakes) and gold. Of the latter a comparatively small quantity finds its way across the frontier.

Wool is exported from Gartok district to the North-West Tibet via Almora, and to the Punjab via Kulu, and from the Rudok district to Ladakh.

The figures in the margin below show the quantity of wool including Pasham exported from Western Tibet to the Punjab and Ladakh during the past year.

To Punjab	...	2,585 Mds.
To Ladakh	...	1,324 Mds.
To Ladakh	...	1,150 Yards manfd.

The Punjab trade is in the hands principally of Kulu men who buy wool in Rudok and Randur during the summer months. It should be mentioned that all those engaged in this trade are privileged people having acquired a right of entry into Tibet by ancient custom. Pure Ladakhis are all admitted.

Owing to the heavy taxes on imported commodities in Lhasan territory,* Kulu people bring few goods into the country, but prefer to make their purchases in rupees. The Rudok wool trade supplies the Dhariwal and other Punjab woollen mills and to an insignificant extent the Cawnpore mills also.

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*One-tenth on all imports in addition to a tax of one in fifty of all the sheep brought in as baggage animals.

4. The Ladakh trade is in the hands of Urghuns. Many of these are in accordance with old custom considered "State traders" and are not taxed, though the ancient privilege of having their goods carried free has for some years been withdrawn. Owing to this and to their more intimate connection with the country, they are able to trade with more advantage to themselves than the Kulu men. They make advances of money to flock owners and are themselves the proprietors of large numbers of Shawl-goat sheep put out to graze in charge of Tibetan herdsmen on the extensive pasture lands of these parts. The Kashmir looms derive their wool supplies almost entirely from this source.

5. The salt obtained from the Rudok saline lakes is usually exchanged for about an equal weight of barley. For the purpose of bartering salt with grain Rudok people visit Ladakh and Ladakhis visit Rudok. There are no figures to show the extent of this trade, but it may be taken to be of considerable local importance, as Rudok salt is consumed as far south as Srinagar.

6. As stated above, it was the prohibition of the trade in grain which last year originated the friction between the Ladakh traders and the Rudok officials, terminating in the destruction of the latter's houses and it will thus be understood that though the alleged grievance of the Rudok "Jongpen" regarding the non-payment of rent had been remedied, and an agreement patched up, as the prohibition against the export of grain had not been removed, the real cause of irritation still remained.

7. In the beginning of August I was on tour in the Ladakh district of Hanle when I heard that trouble similar to last year's was again likely to occur in Rudok. Complaints from Shashol, a village near the Tibetan boundary, also reached me that grazing fees had been illegally exacted by the people of Rudok from Ladakhi herdsmen who had taken their flocks to pasture in the vicinity of the Pangoor lake. As it seemed certain that if these disputes were allowed to continue the trade with Western Tibet would be seriously affected, if not

interrupted altogether, and I considered that a second deputation of a subordinate would be inadvisable, I determined to visit Rudok myself and place matters, if possible, on a more satisfactory footing.

8. I accordingly started at once for Rudok which was reached in two days from the supposed Ladakh frontier on the evening of the 4th September. I remained there the 5th and 6th September and left by a different route on the 7th September.

The Jongpen visited me both days of my stay, on the first occasion bringing a present of some Chinese floor, cloths, sheep, tea, etc., which I accepted.

9. The following matters were discussed :

(*a*) The treatment of British and Ladakhi traders in Rudok.

The Jongpen promised that they would meet with just and considerate treatment at his hands, and that no summary measures would be taken against them as in the preceding year. Any serious offences committed by them would be reported to me before action was taken. At the request of the British and Kashmir traders assembled at Rudok I appointed one of the principal Ladakh traders to act as Vakil in all actions arising in the Jongpen's jurisdiction in which British and Kashmir subjects were concerned, and the Jongpen promised to recognise him.

The decision made in the previous year that traders should pay ground rent for their houses in Rudok was confirmed.

The Kulu traders complained that in addition to the taxes fixed on all commodities intended for sale, taxes were also levied on articles brought for their own personal consumption. The Jongpen promised that this practice would be discontinued.

The Jongpen on the other hand complained of the exactions of the Kardar of Tankse (Ladakh) from Rudok salt carriers. I told him that these would be stopped, and have since taken necessary action to ensure this being done.

(*b*) The export of grain from Ladakh.

I informed the Jongpen that owing to this year's excellent crop the prohibition against the export of grain had been removed. It will be remembered that it had been previously decided to take this step.

(*c*) Grazing fees.

It was stated above that Shashol (Ladakh) flock-owners had complained of grazing fees having been taken from them by Rudok people when pasturing their animals in the vicinity of Pangorr lake. In this a boundary dispute is involved. It seems that the practice complained of has been in existence for many years, and that the "Shashol people have by their payment of the tax to some extent put themselves out of court. The Jongpen, however, assured me that no grazing fees would in future be taken until the boundary should be finally delimited. The question may, I think, be allowed to rest here.

10. My discussions, with the Jongpen were throughout carried on in the most friendly manner and we parted with expression of goodwill. By this meeting all existing causes of friction have been removed, and the establishment of friendly relations with this Lhasan official will, I hope, have the result of facilitating the settlement of any disputes that may arise hereafter.

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